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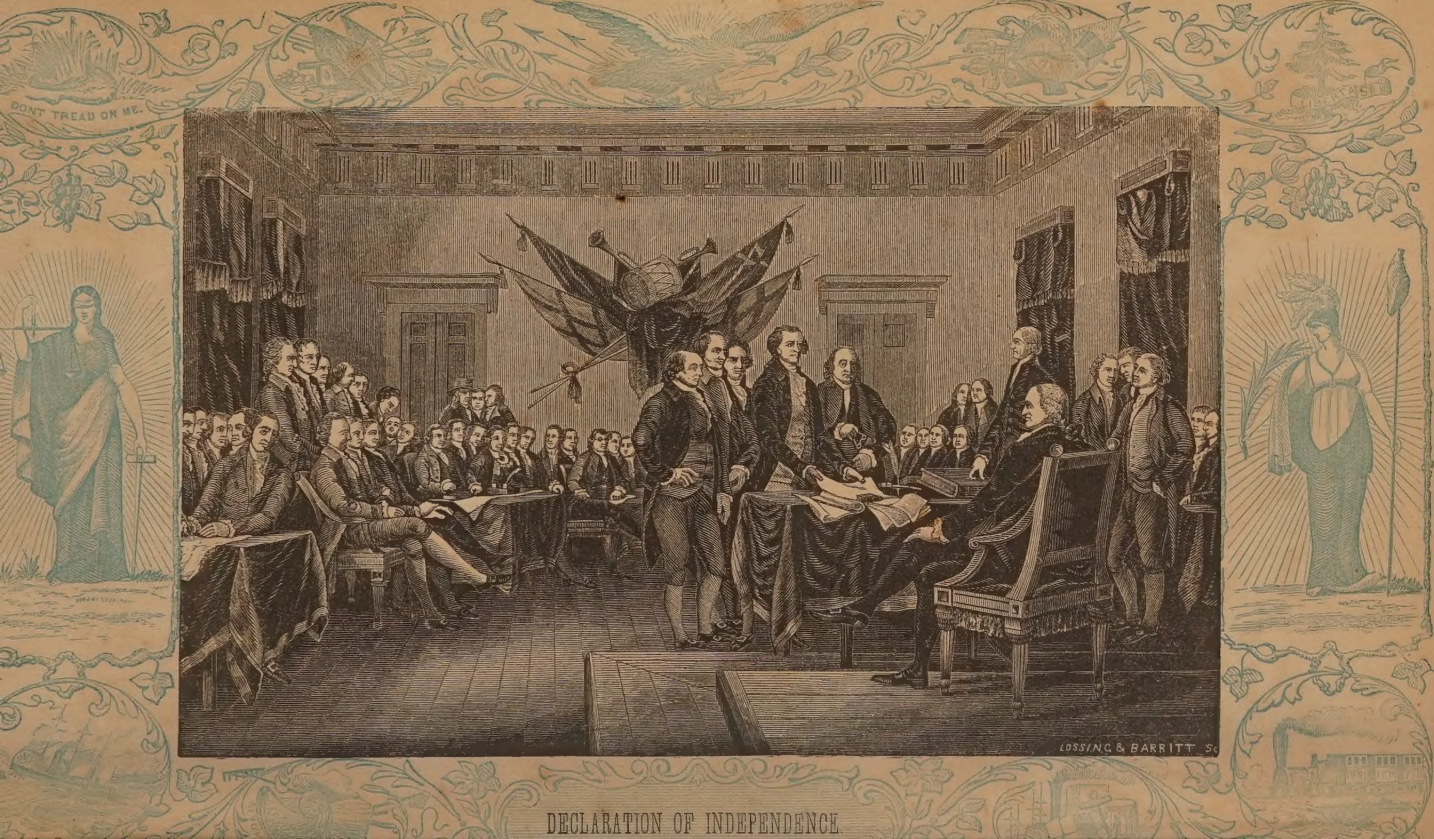

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

SEVENTEEN HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SIX,

OR THE

WAR OF INDEPENDENCE;

A HISTORY OF THE

ANGLO-AMERICANS,

FROM THE PERIOD OF THE UNION OF THE COLONIES AGAINST THE FRENCH, TO THE INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON, THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS

OF PLANS OF BATTLES, PROMINENT EVENTS, INTERESTING LOCALITIES, AND PORTRAITS OF DISTINGUISHED MEN OF THE PERIOD.

BY BENSON J. LOSSING.

NEW YORK:
EDWARD WALKER, 114 FULTON STREET.

1849.

ENTERED according to Act of Congress, in the year 1849, by

EDWARD WALKER,

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E. N. GROSSMAN, PRINTER,
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TO

THE YOUTH OF MY COUNTRY,

UPON WHOM WILL SOON DEVOLVE

THE FAITHFUL GUARDIANSHIP

OF OUR

GOODLY HERITAGE,

THIS VOLUME

IS AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED,

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PUBLISHER'S NOTICE.

In suggesting this truly American Book to my author, my chief motive was to present to the youth of this wide-spreading Republic a faithful record of the events which were instrumental in the accomplishment of its independence, and in the implanting of the basis of its present prosperity and happiness. To all mankind, its history is a lesson of Political Wisdom, and may be perused with profit; but to the American citizen, a perfect knowledge of the Patriotic Story is an essential ingredient of his stock of general knowledge. Other republics have sprung into existence by the fiat of the popular Will, but, alas! how vastly different, as a general rule, were the *motives* which gave birth to that Will, and the *principles* which guided it, from those which laid the foundation of our Republic. Hatred to the patrician classes rather than a sincere desire for political equality, was the prime mover of Robespierre and other bloody actors in the French Revolution; and infidelity, cruelty, and bloodshed, were the ministers of the popular will. Not so with us. Deliberate oppression awoke a cry of remonstrance, and called into action principles as pure as their Author, whose steady light guided both Statesmen and Warriors on their road to Independence, and the establishment of our Republic upon the firm basis of Truth, Justice, and Equality. The world venerates the heroes of that strife, and the voice of Despotism durst not calumniate their memory, so sacredly is it enshrined in the heart of every aspirant for Freedom; and when the names of long lines of kings shall fade away in the light of just appreciation, that of Washington and his compatriots will shine with superior lustre—for their characters were precious gifts from Heaven to man. Such is the theme and such the characters for contemplation, herewith presented to the Youth of our country, as incentives to patriotic action, and as ensamples for imitation.

Faithfully should the story of the Revolution be written; faithfully should the artist's pencil portray its scenes; and liberality should characterize the dissemination of those labors. Having experienced the skill of Mr. Lossing (of the firm of Lossing & Barritt, engravers) in the illustration of "Dowling's History of Romanism," and other works, and having full confidence in his ability as a writer, I have intrusted to him both the authorship of this volume and its pictorial embellishment.

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We have felt a great degree of hesitation in bringing the following pages to the bar of public opinion, because of the able manner in which the same subject has long since been presented to the world by American and European writers. We feel conscious of the apparent presumption for one "unknown to fame," to enter the lists with those historians of the Revolution, whose position in society gave them free access to every fountain of information concerning that eventful struggle, and whose imperishable works are, and ever will be, their most enduring monuments, affording to the writers and statesmen of Europe, the most reliable sources of practical instruction in the great lessons then taught. But none can be so great that "one cubit to his stature" may not be added. When Locke, the celebrated philosopher, was asked how he obtained such a vast amount of practical information, he replied,—"By asking questions of every man I meet, whether boor or gentleman." Thus in literature: the great aggregation of learning is but united molecules, gathered from the elaborations of the myriad of minds of successive generations; and the most limited capacity may contribute a moiety, small though it be, to the general fund of human knowledge, and that moiety, like the widow's mite, hath value. The unreal echo, when its mysterious articulations repeat the strains we love, is a substantial contributor to our happiness; and should this work prove, to the ears and hearts of the growing children of America, but an echo of the sweet voices of others who have chanted the heroics of the War of Independence, it will serve a noble purpose, and we shall be content to have it called AN ECHO.

In the preparation of this volume the chief aim has been to give a concise, yet perfect and comprehensive, narrative of the leading events of that Revolution which dismembered the British emipre, and called another nation into existence. We neither hope nor desire to supplant other histories of the same events, for their usefulness in extending a knowledge of that conflict among our people, and exciting a corresponding degree of patriotism, has been, and still is, incalculable. It would be neither generous nor in good taste, even to draw comparisons between this and its predecessors; yet we may be allowed to say, that it possesses many claims to the kind regard of the public. No effort has been spared to stamp it with the character of strict truthfulness in fact and date, and to this end we have availed ourselves of every authentic source of information, both foreign and domestic, within our reach.

So far as facts are concerned, we have freely appropriated to our use the fruits of the labors of others, but in all cases we have given full credit therefor, as far as practicable. We have endeavored to study others with discrimination; and with their various beauties and defects before us, have elaborated our own plan in the

construction of this work, having constantly in view its design for popular use. How far its leading characteristics entitle it to a post of precedence, or even of equality, in that particular sphere of usefulness for which it is designed, we leave to the decision of a discriminating public.

Of the Pictorial Embellishments of the work, it does not become us to speak, except in relation to their general character and design. They are introduced not merely for the purpose of attracting the popular eye, without reference to fitness or meaning; they are illustrative of facts, and form a part of the record. The delineations of Interesting Localities, having Revolutionary associations clustered around them, may be relied on as correct, all of them having been drawn by the writer, either from nature, or from approved pictures. The Portraits, likewise (forty-five in number), have been carefully copied from engravings which enjoy the public approval. The same may be affirmed of the sixteen Plans of Battles. The wide scope given in the illustration of the book, and the superior manner, without regard to cost, in which every part of the mechanical work is executed, proclaim the generous liberality of the publisher, and will, doubtless, be appreciated by the public.

The Appendix contains several State Documents of great interest to every American. They were called forth by the exigencies of the times, during the inception, progress, and consummation of the Revolution, and contain the redundant seed of principles that grew and flourished amid the sufferings of the patriot strugglers in that conflict. They are drawn from sources not generally accessible, and make valuable addenda to the narrative of the text.

At the conclusion of the volume is an Analytical Index, alphabetically arranged, prepared with great care. It will be found of much value to those who take up the volume for reference only, as well as to the general reader. The Marginal Dates, interspersed through the book, furnish a complete chronology at every step, and disencumber the text of that prolixity which their introduction, therein, would necessarily produce. These, combined with the Running Index at the head of each page, render the search for any given fact, the work of a few moments only.

This work, we repeat, has been prepared expressly for a sphere of usefulness; and the leading idea in the mind of writer and publisher has been, a desire to present to the American public, and particularly to the youth of our beloved country, a full and complete narrative of the WAR OF INDEPENDENCE, avoiding unnecessary prolixity in detail; thus furnishing a volume of intrinsic value at a cost so moderate, that the head of every family in the land may afford to spread its contents before his children, and instruct them in those lessons concerning the conflict for our "goodly heritage," which every child of the Republic should learn. How well we have succeeded in our design, let the work itself proclaim.

B. J. L.

New York, June, 1847.

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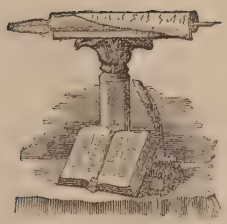
INTRODUCTION.



THE WAR of the AMERICAN REVOLUTION was emphatically a war of Principle; a conflict of Opinion and for Power, between Despotism and Freedom; a struggle of the patrician few with the plebeian many for the mastery. Under the banner of the former, were marshalled the bold assumption of the divine right of kings—of sovereignty vested in one man, *Dei Gratia;* the feudal pretensions and asserted prerogatives of titled aristocracy, and the blind and almost unconquerable bigotry of the governed, voluntarily chained by their prejudices to the car of monarchy, and led captive with ease.

Under the banner of the latter, were marshalled the sublime jurisprudential theories of bygone reformers; freedom of thought, opinion and action; faith in the capacity of man for self-government; a just appreciation of the true dignity of humanity, and the fearless assertion of the glorious principles of equality of birth, and equality in the exercise of inalienable rights, conferred impartially by our Creator. These were the moral antagonisms, whose attrition produced the flame of the American Revolution.

The physical forces which these discordant principles drew up in battle array, were equally antipodal, viewed as subjects for patient endurance of hardships, and indomitable energy in the accomplishment of declared purposes.

The armies sent by monarchy to conquer the Colonies, were officered by men who had been reared in the halls of nobility, or the mansions of opulence; men, who made war a profession whereby to obtain the bauble GLORY,—military glory—that brilliant lie that for so many ages has led mankind astray—and not as an instrumentality for developing or maintaining principles that form the basis of human happiness. The troops which they led were mostly veteran warriors. They came from the continental battle fields; they came from the easy conquests of the Indian Peninsula; and the discipline of the camp was to them an easy restraint. Officers and men, all came fully panoplied for the conflict. Their "military chest" commanded the ready service of the exchequer of a wealthy and powerful people. Their superior numbers and discipline, coupled with a feeling of utter contempt for the "*rebels*" they came to subdue and humble, gave them such confidence of certain and speedy success, that the thoughts of hardships to be endured, difficulties to encounter, a disastrous overthrow, never interposed between their vision and the glittering prize of glory to be won; and hence no misgivings weakened their courage; no doubts made them falter. The dynasties of the Old World wished them success; they were confident and firm.

The colonial army was composed of men unused to the arts of war. Its ranks were filled by farmers and artizans; men, who had seldom heard the bray of the trumpet, or the roll of the drum, awakened into action by the behests of war. Their officers were men of comparatively small military renown. They were nurtured amid the quiet scenes of a peaceful people; and they were called to

the command of battalions, not specially because of their excellence as military tacticians, but because of their possession of a combination of excellences as patriots; as men of prudence and sound judgment; men to be relied on. Officers and soldiers well knew the hardships to be endured, and the obstacles to be overcome. They well knew how limited were the resources of the country; how few the men, how scanty the supplies to be obtained. They well knew the power and the resources of the enemy from abroad, and they had carefully numbered the inimical phalanx of royalists and "faint-hearts" in their midst. They went into the conflict fully prepared to suffer much; yet, relying upon the justice of their cause, they felt as confident of final success as did their haughty foes. Such were the physical elements engaged in the War of the Revolution.

A thirst for glory; a blind devotion to royalty, and a mercenary spirit on one side; and aspirations for freedom, devotion to, and faith in, Republican doctrines, and the faithful guardianship of *home* from the unhallowed foot-prints of tyranny on the other, were the impulses that brought the *heroes* of Britain, and the *patriots* of America, upon the field of personal combat. The struggle was long and desperate, and year after year, the balance of destiny was equipoised. Victory at length gave her palm to Republicanism, and Royalty discomfited, retired from the arena. The ways of a mysterious Providence were made plain; a mighty problem was solved; a brighter morning than earth ever saw, save when angels proclaimed, "Peace on earth, good will to men," dawned upon humanity, and the car of progress, so long inert, started upon its wondrous course.

The pœan of victory, chanted by the great chorus of American freemen, was echoed back from Europe by thousands upon thousands of hearts attuned in unison; yet in that response were heard the trembling notes of fear and doubt. Prayer was fervent; hope lifted high her oriflamme; yet fear interposed its cautious counsels, and doubt whispered its dangerous suggestions in the ear of hope. Enlightened statesmen and philanthropists turned to the chronicles of the past for a parallel or a prototype on which to build a confident hope of success; and despotism and its abettors also delved therein for examples of failure and destruction, incident to such a presumptuous begetting of a nation. Both read the same lesson,

one with despondency, the other with exultation. The democracy of the Greeks, and the republicanism of the Romans, appeared, as in truth they were, misnomers; the shadows of unknown substances. Liberty, at first pure and chaste, became speedily arrayed in meretricious garb, and changed to libertinism; and the tyranny of republican majorities speedily assumed the most hateful features of despotism. In a word, the ever-tangible discordance and speedy overthrow of ancient republics, and the more recently recorded destiny of Venice and Genoa, taken as criterions for judgment, furnished philanthropy with scanty hope for the success of the disenthralled Colonies; while royalty, certain of their speedy downfall, like their predecessors, made the birth of this Republic a standing jest, and its early demise a scoffing prophecy.

But there was an element of vitality in the constitution of the new Republic, unknown to its predecessors, and all important for its perpetuity. It was the element of personal equality, in the possession and enjoyment of social and political rights. No privileged class was recognized, no demarkation lines of caste defaced the charter of our prerogatives. The fountain of knowledge was freely unsealed to all; the road to wealth and honor was freely opened to all. The prize of distinction was the incentive to learn and to educate; and general intelligence was (and is now) the main pillar of the State, growing with the growth, and strengthening with the strength, of the Republic. This was wanting in all past republics, and hence their speedy decadence and annihilation.

The war of the American Revolution taught monarchs and statesmen a great moral lesson, universal in its application, and valuable beyond estimate. It taught them to respect the inalienable rights of the governed, and to regard political freedom as the firmest pillar of the throne. It taught them to abandon the dangerous policy of coercing men into submission to the ministrations of palpable error, and of quieting the rebellion of intellect and sentiment by physical power. It taught them to regard as futile and impious, any attempt to stay the progress of truth, for its power is almighty; it is the throne of the Eternal. It opened their understanding to the fact, that the legitimate source of power is the people; and that *vox populi vox Dei*, cannot be denied when that voice utters the wise lessons of truth. It taught them to respect opinion; to eschew intolerance; to receive with caution, and view with scrutiny, the pharisai-

cal teachings of creeds, whether religious or political; and to regard the race as a unity; children of one father; co-heirs in the inheritance of those prerogatives which God alone can bestow, and which God alone can withhold. These were hard and almost incomprehensible lessons for bigots to learn. Their minds, long clouded with the gross error of king-craft and priest-craft, were almost impervious to the light of political and religious truth, which the war of the Revolution unveiled; and it was long after the judgment was convinced, and the intellect acknowledged the truth of the lesson, ere the heart, at whose portal stood human pride mailed in the panoply of hoary precedent, would yield its assent, and allow the spirit of human progress to enter and assume control.

Yet the lessons taught, *were* learned; and the rich fruit of that glorious seed-time is now everywhere visible in the Old World. Republican institutions grow side by side with monarchy, and their branches intertwine; and despotism proper has scarcely a foothold in Europe. There is not a code of laws, by which its empires are governed, that does not bear, in some clause, the signet of the American Revolution. Its voices reverberated amid the stupendous structures of feudal folly and feudal wrong; their deep foundations were shaken, and they crumbled into dust. A few still remain, but they are fast fading away, like stars of morning before the brightness of a more glorious orb; and when the years of the first century of the New Era shall be told by the gnomon of Time, scarcely a vestige of these dark monuments will remain, to cast their shadow upon the dial. Our experiment in self-government has been fairly tried. It is no longer an experiment, but a grand demonstration. May we not in sober truth, and not in a boastful spirit, claim for our Republic the meed of superiority? Is it not to jurisprudence, what the Venus de' Medici is to art, a model of classic grace, disfigured, it is true, by impurities cast upon it by the careless and unwise, but in form and feature, as perfect as human judgment can fashion it? Will it not be a study for all time; and will not the transatlantic republics yet to be chiselled from the rough stones of old systems, look to the beauteous child of the American Revolution, as a model *par excellence?* These are questions which the honest pride of every American citizen answers in the affirmative.

But another question forces itself upon the mind and heart of the enlightened patriot—Shall this rich inheritance be long perpetuated, and how? The answer is at hand. *Educate every child—educate every emigrant*, for "education is the cheap defence of nations."* Educate *all*, physically, intellectually and morally. Instruct, not only the *head*, but the *heart;* enlighten the mind, and, by cultivation, enlarge and multiply the affections. Above all, let our youth be instructed in all that appertains to the vital principles of our Republic. To appreciate the blessings they enjoy, and to create in them those patriotic emotions, which shall constitute them ardent defenders in the hour of trial, it is necessary for them to be taught the price of their goodly heritage; the fearful cost of blood and treasure, suffering and woe, at which it was obtained. They should be led by the hand of history into every patriotic council; upon every battle field; through every scene of trial and hardship, of hope and despondency, of triumph and defeat, where our fathers acted and endured, so that when we

> "Go ring the bells and fire the guns,
> And fling the starry banner out—
> Cry FREEDOM! till our little ones
> Send back their tiny shout;"†

our children may not, in their ignorance, ask, "What mean ye by this service?"‡

The duty of the historian of the Revolution, as one of the national teachers, is a difficult one, and if he truly feels the weight of the responsibility resting upon him, he will instinctively shrink from the task, or approach it with trembling misgivings, relying solely upon Omnipotent Wisdom, in the exercise of his judgment and the guidance of his pen. That same nation, whose rulers sent armies here to oppress their brethren, our fathers; to awe them into submission to a "tyrant, unfit to be the ruler of a free people," and who, by every act of injustice and cruelty which malevolence could invent, sought to enslave the infant Colonies, is still a powerful and haughty sovereignty; yet in language, laws, religion, and commerce, is closely allied to us in bonds of mutual friendship. While patriotic indignation would prompt the historian to speak harshly of Britain,

* Burke. † Whittier. ‡ Exodus xii., 26.

its rulers and people, when recording the story of the wrongs our fathers endured ; and he might justly speak in terms of unqualified condemnation of the inflictors and abettors of those wrongs, yet it is manifestly improper and unjust to excite unfriendly feelings against that same nation now. The actors in that bloody drama have passed away, and their places in court, forum and field, are filled by men who as deeply deplore and condemn those acts of George and his ministers, as we.

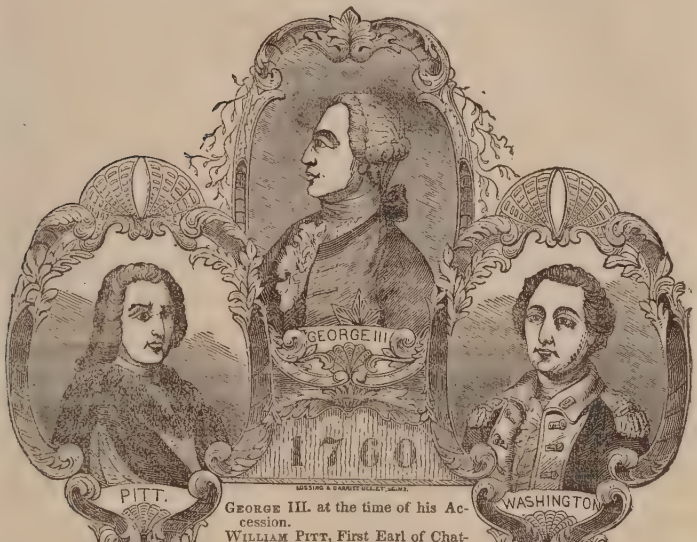
Britain, though old, has been an apt scholar in learning the lesson taught by our War of Independence, and nobly are her children practising its precepts. Monarchy there is now but a dim shadow of its former self ; and, instead of using the people as an instrument of its ambition and lust, it is but an executive arm to do the bidding of the people's will. Power has changed its dwelling-place ; it has left the narrow precincts of the throne, and domiciles upon the broad domain of the intellect of the nation. Religion, too, is stooping from its lofty position upon the upper step of the throne, and with its best friends, Freedom of Opinion, and Freedom of Thought, is leaving the cathedral for the chapel, and spreading its broad mantle of Toleration alike over assenters and dissenters. Every year produces a closer affiliation in thought, feeling and action, between us and our stately mother ; and the time is not far distant, when geographical demarkation alone shall make us distinctive nations, for we shall meet upon the same broad platform of Human Right, and labor in the same great cause of Human Progress, without a discordant feeling to disturb our harmony.

While the following pages shall present a faithful narrative of the War of American Independence ; while not a syllable of deserving condemnation of British tyranny and oppression shall be withheld ; while every record of patriotic action, calculated to make the heart of every American citizen glow with love for his country, and reverence for those who procured the blessed inheritance, shall be rehearsed, it shall be our aim to do this, and *this only ;* and not, by the utterance of a single word, probe the healing wound of the last century, or sever one ligament of friendly feeling that now binds us to our English brethren. Let us rather strengthen that bond, for our alliance is noble and honorable. The object of our friendship is worthy thereof, for, when we cast our eyes across the Atlantic, England, radiant with learning, art,

science, religion, patriotism, every element of human progress, every ingredient of social good, every constituent of true greatness, beams like Hesperus amid the lesser orbs of the Old World. Let every American heart respond to the sentiment of her own sweet poet Cowper :—

> "England, with all thy faults,
> I love thee still."

THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.



GEORGE III. at the time of his Accession.
WILLIAM PITT, First Earl of Chatham.
WASHINGTON, from an Early Print by Trumbull.

CHAPTER I.

PROPER point of departure in the delineation of the events of the War of American Independence, is the period when the several English colonies, planted along the Atlantic sea-board from Massachusetts to Georgia, first united for the purpose of checking the extension of French settlements and the growth of French empire upon this continent. They were prompted to this union by sentiments of true loyalty to the home government, and the counsels of self-interest. Until this period each colony, established upon its own particular basis, without any special reference to its sister settle-

ments, felt no bond of common interest with them. In fact, the discordance of sectional feeling, in matters relating to boundaries and other differences of opinion, growing out of imperfect demarkations of territory, produced sectional jealousies and rivalries that sometimes amounted to a considerable degree of animosity: yet the consciousness of a common origin and fraternity in language, and the dictates of sound judgment, so strongly developed in the Colonies, preserved them from acts of open hostility, or even the indulgence of feelings of permanent hatred.

Prior to the period now under consideration, the Colonies had no thoughts of union, for any object whatever. Nicholson and other colonial Governors had, at different times, proposed a union of several of the Colonies, but the motives which gave birth to these suggestions were so manifestly mercenary that the people spurned them with disdain. They were made by men ambitious of extending the power of the crown, advancing their own aggrandizement, and of checking, in its incipient growth, the budding spirit of independence, becoming so frequently manifest. They feared the expansion of this bud into the lovely flower and mature fruit, and at once sought to destroy its vitality or retard its growth. But these unwise counsels and recommendations to the crown always gave new life to languishing aspirations for freedom, and increased the odium in which the colonists, so frequently with just cause, held their appointed rulers.

The union proposed by the colonial Governors, and so promptly rejected by the people, was finally accomplished through the instrumentality of old national antipathies felt towards France, and which were remarkably strong in the less refined state of society in America. To political hatreds were added those of antagonistic religious creeds (Roman Catholic and Protestant); and when the arena of conflict between Great Britain and France was transferred to America the colonists were ready to bury all domestic jealousies and disloyal resolutions, and fly to arms.

To understand the nature and cause of this union, it is necessary to glance at prior events, in which Britain and France were the chief actors. While the European settlements in the new world were few, and scattered over a vast wilderness, and their trade consisted chiefly in the traffic of trinkets for fur and game with the Indians, the respective governments of the English, French, Dutch, and Spanish settlers, paid but little regard to their rivalries. But when these settlements became extended, and their operations began to have an influence upon general commerce, national jealousies arose, which finally assumed an attitude of open hostility.

First settlement of Canada. First expedition against Quebec.

From the earliest settlement of the English colonies to the treaty of Paris in 1763, they were frequently harassed by skirmishes and wars with adjacent tribes of Indians, and also with other European settlers. The Indians were frequently instigated by the latter to the commission of the most dreadful acts of cruelty towards the English, and then turned every advantage gained to their own account.

The French first settled and possessed Canada.[a] Nearly simultaneously with these settlements, they planted colonies in Florida, and claimed, by priority of discovery, exclusive jurisdiction over the whole valley of the Ohio and Mississippi. To secure this claim, they built a line of forts from Canada to Florida.* By bribes and other nefarious means of persuasion, they won over to their interest and aid several powerful tribes of Indians; and finally arranged a systematic plan of encroachments upon the English domain.

[a] 1598.

In order to prevent these encroachments, and to weaken the strength of the French, it was contemplated to conquer Canada. As early as 1629 an attempt was made to despoil France of her possessions on the banks of the St. Lawrence. During that year, Sir David Kirk equipped a small fleet, and surprised and captured Quebec, then an infant French colony, and considered of little importance. At the conclusion of peace, in 1632, Quebec was restored to France.

Some years subsequent to these events, the allied tribes of Indians called the Five Nations waged a terrible war against the French in Canada; and the English of New York gave their aid to the savages. This tended to strengthen the bitter animosities of the English and French, both here and at home; yet the war, which consisted chiefly of skirmishes, did not receive the regular sanction of the respective governments till after the revolution of 1688,† when open hostilities were declared between the two nations. Britain now determined to strike an effectual blow at the power of France beyond the Atlantic.

In 1690, the commissioners of the Colonies projected an expedition against Quebec. The land forces were under the command of General Winthrop, and amounted to eight hundred and fifty men, raised chiefly from the Colonies of New England and New York. A fleet of armed ships and transports with one thousand eight hundred men, under the command of Sir William Phipps, was sent

* Florida then included the whole region bordering upon the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico.

† In favor of William, Prince of Orange, who was made king of England, and ruled conjointly with his queen, Mary.

at the same time to the St. Lawrence, to co-operate with the land forces. Acadia* was subdued with very little resistance, and the fleet reached Quebec in safety; but the expedition proved unsuccessful, owing to a delay of the fleet, a want of boats and provisions among the land forces, and the able defence made by the Count Frontenac. An attempt against Montreal was also unsuccessful, that post being ably defended by Des Callières. The peace of 1697 suspended hostilities; and, to the great discontent of the colonies, Acadia was restored to France.

In 1701, England declared war against France, in consequence of the French government having acknowledged the son of James II. (an exile in France at the time of his father's death) as king of England, when that government had settled the crown upon Anne, the second daughter of James, and then the reigning sovereign. Another cause of offence was the act of the French monarch in placing his grandson, Philip of Anjou, upon the throne of Spain, and thus, as England maintained, destroying the balance of power in Europe. These causes arrayed England against France and Spain in bloody conflict, known as "Queen Anne's War," and the "War of the Spanish Succession."

This renewal of hostilities gave the Colonies another opportunity to meet their old enemies upon the battle-field. Two expeditions against Canada, one in 1704, the other in 1707, failed in achieving the conquest of that province; but, in 1710, General Nicholson, with about twenty-five hundred men, raised chiefly from the colonies of New England and New York, and aided by a fleet from England, captured the garrison of Port Royal,[a] demanded and obtained a surrender of the place, changed its name to Annapolis, in honor of Queen Anne, and Acadia, or Nova Scotia, was permanently annexed to the British crown.

[a] Oct. 13.

The following year, a land force under Nicholson, and a naval armament under Sir Hovenden Walker, proceeded towards Quebec, with a view of not only effecting the conquest of that city, but the subjugation of all Canada. The fleet reached the mouth of the St. Lawrence in safety, but the obstinate pride of Walker refused to listen to the advice of pilots, and, on the night of the second of September, eight ships of the squadron were wrecked on the northern shore, near the Seven Islands. This disaster frustrated the designs of the expedition, and it was abandoned. Walker, with the remainder of his fleet, returned to England, and the colonial troops, disappointed and chagrined, were marched back to Boston. They

* Acadia comprehended the whole region now called Nova Scotia, or New Scotland.

were, however, far from being disheartened, and would, doubtless, have ultimately conquered Canada, had not the peace of Utrecht, which took place in 1713, terminated hostilities between France and Great Britain. By the terms of this treaty of peace, France retained Canada, but ceded to Great Britain the territories of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland; and also assigned to her all claims to the sovereignty of the Five Nations.

A peace between Great Britain and France of thirty years' duration succeeded the treaty of Utrecht, and during this period the Colonies enjoyed comparative repose from enemies without; yet the spirit of independence, increased by their late demonstration of strength and importance, made them speak and act boldly against the petty tyrannies of the three successive royal governors* appointed to rule the Colonies of New England, and constant internal agitation kept the social waters in commotion. This commotion was finally allayed by concessions to the colonists, and when, in 1744, hostilities again broke out between Britain and France, the people of New England, with characteristic ardor, were ready to stand shoulder to shoulder with the mother country. This war originated in European disputes concerning the kingdom of Austria, and for a long time was confined chiefly to Great Britain and Spain; but it finally extended to France, and, as a consequence, involved again the French and English possessions in America.

By the treaty of Utrecht, France, though deprived of Nova Scotia, had retained the island of Cape Breton, and erected upon it a fortress, called Louisburg, at an expenditure of about six millions of dollars. It was supposed to be one of the strongest fortresses of modern times, yet the colonists of New England determined to besiege it, and for that purpose raised an army of four thousand men, and placed them under the command of Colonel Pepperel, as commander-in-chief, and Roger Wolcott, second in command. This expedition was suggested and planned by Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts Bay, who justly regarded Louisburg as the key to the French possessions in America. Commodore Warren, then in command of an English fleet in the West Indies, was invited to co-operate with the Colonies, but declined to do so without orders from the home government. They therefore resolved to make the attempt alone, and, on the 30th of April, they sailed for Louisburg. At Canseau, a small island at the eastern extremity of Nova Scotia, they unexpectedly met the fleet of Warren, who had just received orders to repair to Boston, and concert measures with Shirley relative to services either in defence of the Colonies or aggressions against the French. On the

* Shute, Burnett, and Belcher.

11th of May, greatly to the surprise and alarm of the French, the armament came in sight of Louisburg, and the land forces effected a landing at Garbarus Bay. The next day a detachment of four hundred men marched toward the royal battery, burning the houses and stores in their progress. The French in dismay, supposing the whole army was approaching, spiked the guns and fled in confusion. The battery was immediately seized by the colonial troops, and the guns that remained serviceable were turned upon the town and against the battery upon a small island at the entrance of the harbor.

Vigorous preparations for reducing the city were at once made; and, in the meanwhile, Warren captured a seventy-four gun-ship,[a] with five hundred and sixty men, and a large quantity of military stores, designed for the garrison. The 29th of June was agreed upon as the day for commencing a combined attack by sea and land, but on the day previous, the whole island, with the city, fort, and batteries, were surrendered. A powerful naval armament, under the Duke d'Anville, was subsequently sent, for the double purpose of recovering this grand bulwark of French power in America, and for the destruction of all the English colonies upon the coast; but frightful storms, disease, and shipwrecks, dispersed and disheartened the fleet, and the remnant returned to France. In 1748 a treaty of peace was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the western part of Germany, between France and England, and the colonists had the mortification to see the fruits of their valor wrested from them by the restoration of Cape Breton to France, in exchange for some continental advantages. Thus the British king and his ministry, regardless of the claims of common justice, and ungrateful for the prizes won by colonial heroism, allowed a blind selfishness to guide them into a way of disadvantages greater than all the advantages gained; for they weakened the loyalty of the Colonies, and awakened a spirit of discontent, deep and permanent. The latter hesitated not to charge the home government with a desire to conciliate and maintain the power of Louis, in order to check the spirit of Colonial independence.

[a] May 29.

The French, perceiving that nothing had actually been lost to them by the late conflicts, were inspired with a desire to extend their possessions in North America. Having, at various points, been brought into contact with the back settlements of their powerful rival, they had been generally successful in gaining the alliance of the Indians, from whose warlike character important aid was expected. They made the most active movements in New Brunswick, hoping thence to penetrate into Nova Scotia, where they would find a

population originally French, and still strongly attached to the country of their fathers. But the enterprises which caused the greatest inquietude took place along the Ohio and the Mississippi. The colonists had already, at different points, penetrated the barriers of the Alleghany, and began to discover the value of the country extending to those mighty streams. The enemy, on the other hand, in virtue of certain voyages made in the preceding century by Marquette and La Salle, claimed the whole range of the Mississippi, by attaining which their settlements in Canada and at New Orleans would be formed into one continuous territory. This pretension, if referred to that peculiar law* according to which Europeans have divided America among themselves, seems not wholly unfounded. They had added, however, a more exorbitant claim ; that of all the streams falling into the great river ; which would have carried them to the very summit of the Alleghanies, and have hemmed in the British colonists in a manner to which they were by no means disposed to submit. The banks of the Ohio became the debateable ground on which this collision mainly took place.†

So preposterous and untenable appeared the claims of the French, and so confident were the British in their own right, that an association was formed, in 1749, of London merchants, combined with Virginia planters, called the Ohio Company, with the design of settling the country on the Ohio River. They received from the crown a grant of six hundred thousand acres on that river ; but this, and like donations to other parties, could not be turned to any account with safety, while the French, aided by their Indian allies, were determined to maintain their claims. The formation of these companies, receiving the royal sanction and aid, gave just grounds to the French for apprehending the organization of a systematic plan to deprive them of their communication between Canada and Louisiana. They at once began the erection of forts south of Lake Erie, on the waters of the Ohio, which called forth the complaints of the Ohio Company, and they appealed to Virginia for protection, as the territory in dispute was included in the original charter of that Colony. These complaints, in connection with rumors that the tribes of Indians friendly to the English, alarmed for their safety, were beginning to waver in their fidelity ; and that the hostile tribes, encouraged by the French, began to exhibit symptoms of open hostility, determined Robert Dinwiddie, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony

* "The first discovery of a river, by the subject of any nation, gives to that nation the right of possession of the whole country watered by that river and its tributaries"—*Vattel.*

† United States (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), vol. i., p. 319.

Washington appointed a Commissioner to confer with the French.

and his council, to send a commissioner to confer with the French commander, urge him to desist from further encroachments, and to ascertain as correctly as possible the actual state of affairs on the frontier. This commission was a delicate and hazardous one, requiring great discretion, a knowledge of the country, and an acquaintance with the Indian language and character. The execution of this important duty was entrusted to George Washington, then a youth of only twenty-one years, yet holding the rank, and performing the active services, of Major of one of the four grand military divisions of the Colony of Virginia. The combined excellences of his character had endeared him to all the subordinate officers of his command; and when his appointment to the command of this expedition was known, there were warm hearts and willing hands in abundance ready and eager to accompany him.

Fortified with written instructions, to which the great seal of the Colony was affixed, Washington departed from Williamsburg, the seat of government, on the 31st of October, 1753, and fourteen days after, with seven other men, and horses, tents, baggage, and provisions, they left Will's Creek, the extreme verge of civilisation. The distance they were obliged to travel through the forests and over the most rugged portions of the Alleghanies, was about five hundred and sixty miles; and yet so diligent and persevering was the commander, that they reached their place of destination on the 13th of December. M. de St. Pierre, the commandant of the fort, received them with great politeness, and treated Washington with all the distinction his position could claim. Washington delivered the letter of Governor Dinwiddie to him, and also communicated verbally the object of his mission. St. Pierre refused to come to any decision,—described himself as merely a military man, incompetent to decide on such an application, and expressed an opinion that the Marquis Du Quesne, the Governor of Canada, under whom he acted, was the proper person to be addressed. After two days, however, he gave Washington a written answer to Governor Dinwiddie, and dismissed the conference.

Washington, in the meanwhile, had not been idle. While the French officers were holding consultations and getting their reply ready, he secretly took the dimensions of the fort, and gathered such other information as he deemed useful. He had instructed his attendants to do the same, and thus they carried away with them information of much value. On the 16th of December he set out on his return, and after enduring many hardships, and encountering many perils from snow, fording of streams, and the Indians, he arrived safely at Williamsburg on the 16th of January following.

The letter of St. Pierre was found to contain a reiteration of the French claims to the territory in dispute, and a positive refusal to withdraw his troops; with an assurance that he was acting in pursuance of the commands of the Governor-General of Canada, whose orders alone he felt bound to obey.

The positive yet courteous tone of the letter, and the active preparations for defence making upon the Ohio, placed the French in a position no longer doubtful. Moreover, the inferior officers at a frontier post, when heated with wine, after an evening entertainment given to Major Washington, declared with an oath, their absolute intention to take full possession of the Ohio. Governor Dinwiddie felt that immediate and vigorous preparations to resist their encroachments were necessary, and acted accordingly. The Ohio Company sent out an armed party of thirty men to construct a fort at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela Rivers, a point observed by Washington, and by him strongly recommended as an eligible site for a fortification. Notwithstanding the necessity was great, yet the Assembly of Virginia was slow to make provision for an army. They finally appropriated fifty thousand dollars, and Carolina sixty thousand more; and, after considerable effort, three companies of provincial troops were raised and placed under the command of Washington (now elevated to the rank of Colonel), and marched into the disputed territory. The news soon reached the Governor that the party sent out by the Ohio Company to erect a fort had hardly begun operations before they were attacked by the French, and driven from the ground.[a] The enemy completed the work, and named the fort, Du Quesne.

[a] April 18.

Washington pushed forward with his handful of daring men, at the same time he urgently called on the different States to contribute their quota of men and supplies for the common defence. As he approached the domain occupied by the French, he was informed by some Indians that a party of fifty men, under Jumonville, were on their march to intercept him. With a few chosen men and some Indians, he surprised them in their camp in the night, killed the commander and ten of his men, and wounded twenty-two more.[b] After erecting a small fort, which he named Fort Necessity, and being joined by some troops from New York and Carolina, Washington proceeded, with four hundred men, toward Fort Du Quesne. Learning that a large body of French and Indians, under the command of M. de Villiers, were on their march to meet him, he returned to Fort Necessity, which was soon after attacked by the enemy, fifteen hundred strong.[c] They made an obstinate resistance for ten hours, but were obliged to yield to

[b] May 28.

[c] July 3.

overwhelming numbers, and agreed to a capitulation, by the terms of which they were allowed to return to Virginia unmolested.[a] Notwithstanding this defeat, the campaign was highly approved of, and the House of Burgesses of Virginia passed resolutions of thanks to Colonel Washington and his officers.

[a] July 4.

The colonists had now begun to feel that mutual co-operation against their powerful enemy was absolutely necessary, especially those Colonies that were more immediately exposed to attacks. Representations of the critical state of the Colonies having been made to the government at home, it was recommended to call a convention of delegates from the several States, to be held at Albany, New York, to concert with each other and with the Six Nations (whose friendship they desired to conciliate), some plan for repelling the enemy. The New England States, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New York, at once complied with this advice and appointed delegates, who met in convention at Albany in June, and after concluding a treaty with the Six Nations, on the 4th of July, 1754, the very day of the surrender of Fort Necessity, adopted a plan of government and action, proposed by Dr. Franklin, a delegate from Pennsylvania.

Dr. Franklin was, at this time, one of the most influential men in the Colonies, and his discretion and sound judgment, exhibited in almost every matter of public interest in which he had been called to participate, had gained for him the unbounded confidence of the people of the States, as well as the government at home, which had conferred upon him the office of Postmaster-General. He was looked to as the leader in the convention, and his plan, though extremely bold, was at once adopted by a vote of all the delegates, except those from Connecticut. It proposed a general government, consisting of a President appointed by the crown, and a council chosen by the several Colonial Legislatures; having power vested in them to levy troops, declare war, make peace, regulate trade with the Indians, levy taxes, and concert all other matters for the general safety and prosperity; and their acts, if not disallowed by the king within three years, were to acquire the force of law. But this plan, so highly approved of in convention, met the singular fate of rejection, not only by the Colonial Legislatures when submitted to them, but by the British cabinet. The former objected to it, because it gave too much power to the President or Governor-General and his council, especially in the matter of taxation; and the latter, because it gave too much power to the representatives of the people, and rendered America almost entirely independent.* In fact, it was

* "The Colonial Assemblies," says Franklin, "all thought there was too much

looked upon in England, by sagacious minds, as an incipient step towards political independence, of which Britain was at times so jealous and alarmed; and doubtless it had some influence in moulding the public mind for an affirmative on the question of submission or war, which a few years afterward they were called upon to decide. The plan of union having failed, Britain determined to carry on the war with her own troops, assisted by such aid as the Colonies might volunteer.

In February, 1755, General Braddock arrived from Ireland with two regiments of troops, to co-operate with the Virginia force against the French on the Ohio. He came with the authority of commander-in-chief of the British and colonial forces; and at his request, the governors of five of the Colonies assembled at Alexandria, to concert the general plan of a campaign. Three expeditions were resolved upon; one against the French at Fort du Quesne, to be led by Braddock himself; a second against Niagara; and a third against Crown Point, on the western shore of Lake Champlain. Washington had left the army on account of a regulation, by which the colonial officers were made to take lower rank than those of the regular army; but, at the solicitation of General Braddock, he consented to serve as his aide-de-camp, but as a volunteer.

The expedition to be led by Braddock, was long delayed by the tardiness of the Virginia contractors to furnish the wagons necessary to transport baggage, arms and ammunition; and in the meanwhile, an enterprise in the East was successfully carried out, under General Monckton, who sailed from Boston[a] with three thousand troops, and attacked the French settlements at the head of the Bay of Fundy. Several forts were taken, the plantations of the French settlers were desolated, and the miserable inhabitants, refusing to swear allegiance to the British crown, were driven at the point of the bayonet, on board the British ships, and dispersed in poverty among the English Colonies.

[a] May 20.

Through the influence of Dr. Franklin with the farmers of Pennsylvania, the necessary supplies were obtained, and on the tenth of June, Braddock set out from Fort Cumberland with a force of about two thousand men. The road across the Alleghanies was so rugged, that the movement of the army was very slow; and it was evident that the French, apprised of their approach, would have ample time to strongly fortify Fort Du Quesne, and greatly increase the garrison.

prerogative in it; and in England it was thought to have too much of the *democratic* in it." Thirty years after, on reviewing this plan, it was Franklin's opinion that it was near the true medium. Its basis is very nearly the same as the Constitution of the United States.

At the earnest request of Washington, it was determined to press forward with twelve hundred men, leaving the balance, under Colonel Dunbar, behind, to take charge of the artillery and baggage. As they approached the vicinage of the enemy, Washington desired to lead the provincials in advance, as they were much better acquainted with Indian warfare than the regular troops. But the pride and confidence in his own judgment and skill, deterred Braddock from listening to the advice of his aide-de-camp, and he pressed forward, regardless of the danger of surprise which he was warned against, until he arrived within nine miles of Fort Du Quesne. The garrison was understood to be quite small, and all hearts beat high with anticipation of speedy and signal victory. Early on the morning of the ninth of July, they proceeded toward the fort. A profound silence reigned in the wilderness; no enemy was to be seen; and having forded a small stream, they were passing a woody and rough track by a path that led directly to the fort, when suddenly a most destructive fire opened upon them in front and on the right, from an invisible enemy. The van-guard fell back in confusion, and Braddock, instead of allowing his troops to rush behind the trees and into the ravines, where the enemy were concealed, formed them in platoons, in accordance with English discipline, and their bullets were wasted upon the trees and hillocks. The French and Indians kept up such an incessant fire from the ravines and trees, that a general flight of the regulars ensued. General Braddock had three horses killed under him, and was finally mortally wounded, when the troops, seeing every mounted officer fall, except Washington, fled in dismay. The provincial troops were rallied by their intrepid leader, and covering the retreat of the regulars, saved the army from total destruction. In this defeat, more than two-thirds of all the officers and nearly half the privates, were either killed or wounded. How tangible was the hand of Providence in the salvation of Washington's life on that day! Captains Orme and Morris, the other two aides-de-camp, were disabled by wounds, and the duty of distributing the general's orders devolved on him alone. He rode in every direction, and was a conspicuous mark for the enemy's sharp-shooters. "By the all-powerful dispensation of Providence," said he, in a letter to his brother, "I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me, yet I escaped unhurt, although death was levelling my companions on every side of me."*

* Sparks's Life of Washington (i. vol.), page 64. Boston, 1844.

The enemy made no pursuit, as the Indians, satiated with blood, preferred to remain upon the battle-field, and the French were too few in number to venture to follow; yet so great was the panic communicated to Colonel Dunbar's troops on hearing of the defeat, that disorder and confusion reigned; the artillery and public stores were destroyed, no one could tell by whose orders, nor was tranquillity restored, until they arrived safely within the walls of Fort Cumberland. Soon after, Colonel Dunbar, leaving a few troops at the fort, retired with the rest of the army to Philadelphia;[a] and Washington, debilitated by sickness and fatigue, left the service and returned to Mount Vernon, followed by the blessings and esteem of the Colonies.

[a] Aug. 2.

While these events were transpiring in the West, a militia force of between five and six thousand men assembled at Albany, for an expedition against the fortress of Crown Point, on the borders of Canada. The command was given to William Johnson, afterward *Sir* William Johnson, an Irishman of great bodily strength and energy of character, and who had acquired uncommon influence over the Indian tribes upon the Mohawk and its vicinity. In July, the troops were collected at the carrying-place between the Hudson River and Lake George, under General Lyman, the second in command, where a small fort was built, called Fort Lyman, and subsequently named Fort Edward. In the latter part of August, Johnson arrived, and learning that the enemy was erecting another fort at Ticonderoga, he resolved to push forward and reduce it before the work should be completed. But when arrived at the head of Lake George, intelligence reached him that Baron Dieskau, with nearly two thousand French and Indians, were on their march from Crown Point to attack Fort Edward. Johnson at once sent out a party of one thousand provincials under the command of Colonel Williams; and two hundred Indians under the command of Hendricks, a Mohawk sachem, for the purpose of intercepting the return of the enemy. When within two miles of Fort Edward, Dieskau, at the request of his Indian allies, changed his route, and proceeded to attack the camp of Johnson. Although surprised, he gave the enemy a warm reception, and caused the Indians and militia to fall back. The French regulars maintained the contest for several hours, and Johnson, being wounded, was obliged to yield the command to Lyman, his second. The French were finally repulsed with a loss of nearly one thousand men; Dieskau himself was wounded and made prisoner. While feeling for his watch for the purpose of surrendering it, an English soldier, thinking he was searching for a pistol, fired upon and killed him.

General Johnson erected a fort at his place of encampment, and named it Fort William Henry. He was about to march toward Crown Point, when he learned that the French were strengthening that post, and greatly increasing the garrison at Ticonderoga. He therefore deemed it advisable, as the winter was approaching, to close the campaign; and after leaving sufficient garrisons for Forts William Henry and Edward, he retired to Albany, and there dispersed the remainder of his army to their respective provinces.[a]

[a] Dec.

During this campaign of Johnson, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts (upon whom devolved the command-in-chief of the British forces, on the death of Braddock) led an expedition against Niagara; but the difficulties of the march, the delay in the concentration of troops at Oswego, as concerted, the discouragement spread by the tidings of Braddock's defeat, sickness in the camp, and desertion of Indian allies, frustrated his designs, and nearly all the forces were withdrawn.[b] Two new forts that had been commenced on opposite sides of the river at Oswego, were garrisoned, and the campaign terminated.

[b] Oct. 24.

Thus far, the war between France and Great Britain, carried on upon the ocean, as well as in America, had been permissory rather than declaratory, so far as the respective governments were concerned; but on the 17th May, 1756, war was formally declared against France by Great Britain, and within a month afterwards,[c] the latter returned the compliment. Vigorous preparations were now made on both sides for the prosecution of the war in America. At a council of Governors held at Albany, plans similar to those adopted the preceding year, were matured and agreed upon; and it was determined to raise from the various Colonies, twenty-one thousand men. Lord Loudon was appointed by the crown, commander-in-chief of all the forces in America; but owing to necessary delay, General Abercrombie preceded him and took the command. Abercrombie arrived in June, but conceiving the force in readiness too small for the emergency, thought it prudent to await the arrival of the Earl of Loudon, which took place in July. But both officers seemed very inefficient, and their delays allowed the French time, not only to strengthen their own posts, but to attack those of the English.

[c] June 9.

The French forces were united under Montcalm, a brave and high-spirited officer. In August, he crossed Lake Ontario with more than five thousand men, French and Indians, and with between thirty and forty pieces of cannon, attacked Fort Ontario, on the east side of the river at Oswego.[d] The garrison obstinately de-

[d] Aug. 11.

fended it for a few hours, but finding resistance useless, they safely retired to the old fort on the west side,[a] when, finding their number reduced to fourteen hundred men, and their commander, Colonel Mercer, slain, they were forced to capitulate and surrender themselves prisoners of war.[b] One hundred and thirty-four pieces of cannon, with a large quantity of stores and ammunition, and several vessels in the harbor, fell into the hands of the enemy. After demolishing the forts, Montcalm returned to Canada.

[a] Aug. 12.

[b] Aug. 14.

In August of this year, Colonel Armstrong marched with three hundred men against Kittaning, the principal town of the Indians on the Alleghany River, to avenge the bloodthirsty acts of the savages subsequent to the defeat of Braddock. Incited by the French, they had killed, or carried into captivity, more than one thousand inhabitants of the frontier settlements. Armstrong took them by surprise, killed their principal chiefs, destroyed their town, and carried away eleven prisoners.[c] But few of the English suffered in this expedition. Captain Mercer, afterward the brave General Mercer who was killed at the battle of Princeton, was slightly wounded.

[c] Sept. 8.

The commander-in-chief limited the plan of the campaign of 1757, to an attempt to capture the fortress of Louisburg, and for this purpose he sailed on the 20th of June from New York, with six thousand regular troops, and on the 30th arrived at Halifax. Here he was reinforced by a naval armament under the command of Admiral Holbourn, and a land force of five thousand Englishmen, but learning that a large French fleet had arrived,[d] and that the fort was very strongly garrisoned, he abandoned the enterprise and returned to New York.[e]

[d] Aug. 4.

[e] Aug. 31.

In the meanwhile Montcalm collected his forces at Ticonderoga, marched against Fort William Henry on Lake George, besieged it, and compelled it to surrender.[f] The garrison were allowed the honorable terms of marching out with the honors of war, and rejoining their countrymen; but the treacherous Indians violated the stipulation and massacred a great number of them. It is maintained that Montcalm used all his endeavors to prevent the butchery; but he was held responsible for the act, and there was accordingly aroused in the breast of the Colonies, a deep thirst for vengeance, that called for more vigorous measures against the enemy.

[f] Aug. 9.

It will have been perceived that hitherto disaster and disgrace had marked most of the operations against the French, especially on the part of the English officers and their troops. The political con-

tests for place, and the vacillating character of George II., now seventy years of age, prevented that vigorous and steady action of government, so necessary in times of general commotion, such as then convulsed Europe; and the best interests of the nation were most shamefully neglected. George was surrounded, at this time, with very few really great men; and his irascibility of temper controlling both his judgment and his actions, caused him to discard from office and confidence, men unto whom the *people* looked for proper leaders, and filled his cabinet with men, such as the Old Duke of Newcastle, who could boast of little else that was noble, except the crest of a peer of the realm. These men flocked like vultures for prey, around the old king, clamorous for place and pensions for themselves and heirs; and by their influence, such men as Pitt and Temple, really the best friends of the king and his realm, were driven from posts of honor and usefulness, because they stood in the way of titled ignorance and self-sufficient stupidity. Fortunately, the utter imbecility and timidity of the cabinet, when Pitt and Temple were dismissed, was so great, that the poor old king was left without an adviser on whom he could rely. He had been taught to hate Pitt, yet in his emergency he was induced to recall him, and at once new life and vigor were infused into the government. Adverse to the military operations in Germany, he turned his attention chiefly to the American Colonies, and this attention drew from them united and efficient exertions. The Earl of Loudon was recalled, and the command-in-chief was given to General Abercrombie, much the better officer of the two.

It being concerted to strike the first blow at Louisburg, the rallying point of French power in that quarter, an expedition sailed against it from Halifax in May, 1758. The naval armament, consisting of nearly forty armed vessels, was under the command of Admiral Boscawen, and the land forces, twelve thousand strong, under command of General Amherst. On the 2d of June, the fleet anchored in Gabarus Bay, and landed the troops on the 8th, when the French called in their outposts and dismantled the battery. On the 12th, General Wolfe completed a battery at the North Cape, by which the island battery was silenced, three French ships burned in the harbor, and the town fortifications much injured. On the 26th of July, the city and island, together with St. Johns, surrendered by capitulation.

On the 5th of July, General Abercrombie embarked on Lake George, with about fifteen thousand troops and a formidable train of artillery; and on the following morning, landed near the head of the lake, and commenced their march through the woods towards the fort at Ticonderoga, then defended by about four thousand troops,

Death of Lord Howe. Capture of Fort Frontenac.

under the command of the Marquis Montcalm. The English troops soon became bewildered, in consequence of their ignorance of the country; and the centre column, commanded by Lord Howe, falling in with an advanced guard of the French,[a] Lord Howe was killed; but after a severe contest, the enemy were repulsed. The death of Lord Howe, who was much beloved by all, threw the army into confusion, and they fell back to the landing-place; but on the 8th they rallied in full force to attack the fort. After a contest of four hours and a loss of nearly two thousand men, Abercrombie was obliged to raise the siege, and retired to the head of Lake George. At the earnest solicitation of Colonel Bradstreet, an expedition of three thousand men, under that officer, was sent against Fort Frontenac, situated upon the present site of Kingston, at the outlet of Lake Ontario. He crossed the lake from Oswego,[b] and in two days compelled the fort to surrender. Nine armed vessels, and a large quantity of stores and goods, was a portion of the reward reaped by the gallant soldiers.

[a] July 6.

[b] Aug. 25.

Early in July, General Forbes, at the head of nine thousand men, left Philadelphia on an expedition against Fort du Quesne. The French attacked an advanced party under Major Grant, and killed three hundred men; but on the approach of General Forbes with the main body of the army, being deserted by their Indian allies, they precipitately fled from the fort, and escaped in boats down the Ohio.[c] Possession was taken of the fort the next day, and in honor of Mr. Pitt, the Prime Minister, its name was changed to Pittsburg.* The Indians from the West concluded a treaty of neutrality with the English, and the campaign of the year closed with more honor and substantial benefit to the English than any preceding ones.

[c] Nov. 24.

Pitt now conceived the bold design of conquering the whole of Canada in a single campaign. The sound judgment and skill displayed by Amherst in the siege of Louisburg, gained from Parliament a vote of thanks, and he was appointed commander-in-chief of all the forces in America; while to General Wolfe, a young officer on whom Pitt greatly relied,† and who by his bravery distinguished himself at Louisburg, was assigned the most active part in the transactions on the St. Lawrence.

* Now the site of a flourishing city.

† "The world," says Walpole, "could not expect from him more than he thought himself capable of performing. He looked on danger as the favorable moment that would call forth his talents." Of Lord Howe he also said, "He was as undaunted as a rock, and also as silent; the characteristic of his whole race. He and Wolfe soon contracted a friendship like the union of cannon and gunpowder."—*Memoirs of George II.*

As in former years, three expeditions were planned; one under General Wolfe, who was to ascend the St. Lawrence and lay siege to Quebec; the second under General Amherst, who was to attack Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and then by the way of Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence, unite with the forces of Wolfe; and a third, after the reduction of Niagara, was to proceed down Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence and attack Montreal.

On the 22d of July, with a little more than eleven thousand men, Amherst reached Ticonderoga and prepared for a general attack; but the French, after partially demolishing the fort, abandoned it, and returned to Crown Point, whither they were pursued by the English. This post they also abandoned and retired to Aux Noix,[a] a small island in the River Sorel. Amherst at once constructed several small vessels, and with his whole army embarked in pursuit; but in consequence of a series of heavy storms, and the lateness of the season, he returned to Crown Point and went into winter quarters.

[a] Aug. 1.

General Prideaux, who commanded the expedition against Niagara, proceeded thither by way of Oswego, and on the 6th of July, reached the fort and commenced the siege. Almost at the beginning of the attack, he was accidentally killed by the carelessness of a gunner, and the command devolved on Sir William Johnson, who, pushing operations with great vigor, effectually routed and defeated a large force which had been collected against him,[b] and finally compelled the garrison to surrender prisoners of war.[c] The capture and surrender of this important military post, effectually cut off all communication between Canada and Louisiana, and destroyed the power of the French west of Montreal.

[b] July 24.

[c] July 25.

While these events were transpiring, General Wolfe was prosecuting the most important part of the campaign on the banks of the St. Lawrence. He embarked his troops, numbering about eight thousand men, at Louisburg, and with a fleet of twenty-two ships of the line and as many frigates, under the command of Admirals Saunders and Holmes, proceeded up the St. Lawrence to the Isle of Orleans, a few miles below Quebec. The city at that time was strongly fortified in anticipation of an attack from the English; and the French troops under Montcalm, amounting to about thirteen thousand men, occupied the city, and formed a strong camp on the north shore of the St. Lawrence. The troops under Wolfe had scarcely landed before a terrible storm blew down the river, driving several of their large ships from their anchors, making the transports run foul of each other, and swamping several boats. While in this

confusion, the French sent seven fire-ships in the midst of the fleet, but the British sailors grappled them, towed them to the banks, and left them fast aground to burn, without injury to the English fleet.

General Wolfe took possession of Point Levi, where, in defiance of the detachments sent against him by Montcalm, he erected batteries which afterward did great execution in the destruction of the Lower Town. But the chief defences of the city were uninjured by this attack; and on the 10th of July, he crossed the North Channel of the St. Lawrence, and encamped his whole army near the left wing of the enemy's forces, the river Montmorenci lying between them. The strong defences which nature, as with Gibraltar, afforded Quebec, together with the able fortifications of art, convinced Wolfe that batteries nearer than Point Levi must be brought to bear upon the city, before any impression could be made. But this appearing impracticable, he resolved upon a more daring scheme, and forthwith proceeded to put it into execution. He determined to cross the St. Lawrence and Montmorenci with different divisions at the same time, and storm the entrenchments of the French camp.

On the 31st of July, the boats of the fleet filled with troops from Point Levi, and with grenadiers, under the command of General Monckton, crossed the St. Lawrence and effected a landing a short distance above the Montmorenci; and Generals Townshend and Murray, fording that river near its mouth, hastened to their assistance. The French, in the meanwhile, had concentrated their artillery on the point menaced; and, galled by their fire, the English grenadiers rushed tumultuously up towards the entrenchments, without waiting for the corps which were to sustain them and join in the attack. But the grenadiers were met by a fire too terrible for the bravest of them, and they fell back in confusion, after sustaining great loss, and sought shelter behind a redoubt which the enemy had abandoned. Night approached, a heavy thunderstorm set in, and the ominous roaring of the St. Lawrence—for the mighty tide was retiring—caused Wolfe to give up the attack and withdraw his troops.

The situation of the English was now critical, and indeed desperate. More than a month after this failure,[a] Wolfe in a letter to Pitt, confessed that he was driven to the extremity of calling a council of war; and after saying that he had suffered by a fever, he adds—"I found myself so ill, and am still so weak, that I begged the General officers to consult together for the general safety. . . . We have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose us In this situation, there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain

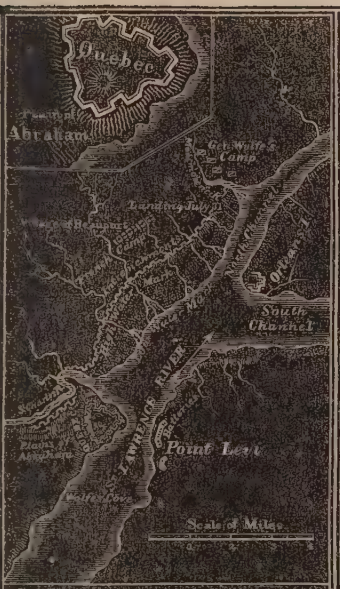
[a] Sept. 2.

require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favorable event." When this letter reached England it excited consternation and anger. Pitt feared that he had been mistaken in his favorite general, and that the next news would be either that he had been destroyed, or had capitulated. But in the conclusion of his melancholy epistle, Wolfe had said he would do his best; and that best turned out a miracle of war. He declared that he would rather die than be brought to a court-martial for miscarrying, and in conjunction with Admiral Saunders, he concerted a plan for scaling the heights of Abraham, and gaining possession of the elevated plateau at the back of Quebec, on the side where the fortifications were the weakest, as the French engineers had trusted to the precipices and the river beneath.*

The camp at Montmorenci was broken up, and the troops and artillery were conveyed to Point Levi; and very soon after, the fleet sailed to some distance above the city. This movement deceived Montcalm into a belief that an attack from that quarter was meditated. On the night of the 12th of September, the troops in boats glided silently down the river, and all the French sentinels were passed without being alarmed. They landed within a mile and a half of the city, and immediately commenced the ascension of the precipice. There was a French guard over their heads, and hearing a rustling noise, but seeing nothing, they fired at random down the declivity, while the British fired upward also at random. Terrified at so strange and unexpected an attempt, the French piquet fled, all but the captain, who was wounded and taken prisoner. The poor fellow begged the British officers to sign a certificate of his courage and fidelity, lest he should be punished for bribery, believing that Wolfe's bold enterprise would be deemed impossible without corruption. When morning dawned, Wolfe with his little army, now reduced to less than five thousand men, stood upon the heights of Abraham, in bold defiance of Montcalm and his overwhelming force.

The French General at first could hardly credit his own senses, so impossible did it seem for an army to ascend those dangerous cliffs. He perceived that, unless the English could be driven from their position, Quebec was lost. "I see them," said he, "where they ought not to be; but since we must fight, I will go and crush them!" and immediately, with his whole army, he crossed the St. Charles and advanced to the attack. The English reserved their fire until the enemy were within a few yards of the front, and then

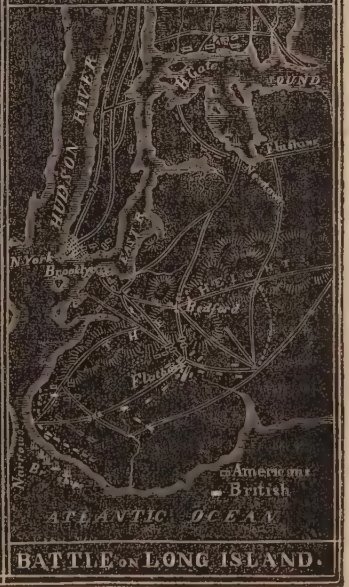
* Pictorial History of England, vol. iv., page 609.



SIEGE OF QUEBEC, 1759

BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

SEAT OF WAR IN NEW JERSEY.



BATTLE ON LONG ISLAND.

poured in a terrible discharge, which compelled them to recoil with great confusion. But as Wolfe stood conspicuous in the front rank, cheering his men, a musket ball struck his wrist. He wrapped a handkerchief around the wounded limb, continued giving his orders, and soon put himself at the head of his grenadiers, who had fixed their bayonets for the charge, when he was hit by a ball in the upper part of the abdomen. He seemed scarcely to heed this serious wound, and was giving his orders and encouraging his men, when a musket ball struck him in the breast and brought him to the ground. General Monckton, the second in command, was dangerously wounded by his side, and the command devolved on General Townshend. Wolfe was immediately conveyed to the rear by his grieved men, and while the agonies of death were upon him, his mind was intently fixed upon the battle. As his life-blood ebbed fast, and his eyes grew dim, he heard a wounded officer near him exclaim, "See how they run!" The drooping head of the hero raised, and with eyes sparkling with new lustre, he eagerly inquired, "Who runs?" "The French," replied the officer; "they give way in all directions." "Then," said he, "I die content;" and after giving an order for Webb's regiment to move down to the St. Charles and secure the bridge there, in order to cut off the enemy's retreat, he expired. Montcalm received a mortal wound, and his second in command was made prisoner and conveyed on board an English ship. Five days after the battle,[a] the city of Quebec capitulated, and the disheartened remnant of the grand army of the French retired to Montreal. The same despatch conveyed to England, the intelligence of the unexpected victory on the heights of Abraham, the death of Wolfe, and the surrender of Quebec.

[a] Sept. 18

General Murray, a brave and adventurous soldier, was left to defend the half-ruined town of Quebec, and the British fleet retired to escape being frozen up in the St. Lawrence. M. Levi, who had succeeded Montcalm, spent the winter in making preparations for a desperate effort to recover all that the French had lost, and early in the spring of 1760, he took the field with a mixed body of French, Canadians, and Indians, exceeding in all, ten thousand men. He marched from Montreal, and in April, when the weather was still inclement, he appeared before Quebec. General Murray, with scarcely seven thousand men, disdaining to wait a regular siege, marched out and attacked the enemy;[b] but he was defeated, lost most of the guns he had taken out with him, was nearly cut off in his retreat, and got back to the city with great difficulty. As the ice cleared away, Levi brought up six French frigates, and

[b] April 28.

began to form the siege by land and water. But on the 16th of May, Lord Colville, with two good frigates, outsailing the rest of the squadron, ascended the river and destroyed the French ships, under the eyes of Levi, who stood on the heights on the other side, but who presently decamped, and with such precipitation that he left his artillery and stores behind him.

Nothing now remained to the French in Canada except Montreal, and that last stronghold, wherein the Marquis de Vandreuil, the Governor-general, had collected all his magazines, was soon invested by Generals Amherst and Murray, and Colonel Haviland; and despairing of any succor from France, which could scarcely put a ship to sea, or spare a man from her wars in Europe, Vandréuil capitulated on the 8th of September. Thus were the Canadas won, and the conquest cost Great Britain but comparatively few men. This encouraged Pitt to call it a "bloodless war;" but as he was conquering America through Germany,* the blood spilt there was assuredly, in some measure, to be taken into the account; and there the carnage was, and continued to be, unprecedented in modern war.†

The conflict between England and France continued upon the ocean and among the West India Islands, with almost constant success to England, until 1763. On the 10th day of February of that year, a treaty of peace between the two countries was concluded and signed at Paris; by which France surrendered to Great Britain all her possessions in North America eastward of the Mississippi River from its source to the River Iberville, and thence through Lakes Maurepas and Ponchartrain to the Gulf of Mexico. Spain at the same time ceded to Great Britain, her possessions of East and West Florida. Thus ended the famous "Seven Years' War," which had cost a million of lives, devastated no inconsiderable part of Europe, and carried carnage into all the four quarters of the globe. England was the greatest winner, and her noblest acquisitions were in America. Here she saw, not only her domain vastly expanded, and invaluable sources of wealth opened to her avaricious desires, but she rejoiced in the loyal adhesion to her throne of nearly three millions of people, ready to pour into her lap the treasures of peaceful industry, or to lend willing hearts and strong arms in the defence of her territory and her fame. And well would it have been for her if she had rightly appreciated this noble possession, and wisely

* George II. was, by inheritance from his father, Elector of Hanover, a petty sovereignty of Germany, and to maintain his right to this domain, cost an awful sacrifice of blood and treasure.

† Pictorial History of England, vol. iv., page 614.

Death of General Wolfe. P. 45.

cemented by generous kindness the bond of union between herself and her Colonies. But an all-wise Providence had otherwise decreed; and the strange infatuation that subsequently caused British statesmen to disregard the just rights of her colonial subjects, and to kindle a flame of discontent and rebellion in the hearts of her children, was the instrumentality that produced the conception and birth of this great Republic, the pride and glory of the earth.

We have thus taken a cursory view of the most prominent events that transpired during nearly a century and a half, in a struggle for empire and territory in America, by the two leading powers of Europe. Our narrative has been necessarily very brief; a little more than a general outline; yet sufficient to develope the progressive steps toward that point of self-sustaining confidence in their moral and physical resources, which distinguished the Colonies when they hurled the gauntlet of defiance at the feet of England, and proclaimed to the world the self-evident truth, that "All men were created equal; that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights; that among these is life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

At the period now under consideration, the Colonies were in a state of unexampled prosperity. In population and wealth, their increase was without a parallel in past history, nearly doubling in both in twenty years. They possessed a vast agricultural domain; fertile, and yielding such returns to moderate labor, that none but the idle and vicious were companions of want. Those restrictions upon marriage, imposed both by law and necessity in the empires of the Old World, were here unknown, and youthful marriages were universal. This social condition, together with the influx of European emigrants, attracted hither by the freedom of the institutions and the easy acquirement of a competence for themselves and their children, were the springs of this rapid increase.

In commerce, the progress of the Colonies was equally rapid, and excited the astonishment of Europe, and, in some degree, the jealousy of the mother country; especially when the wings of that commerce sped to the ports of other nations. Yet the agricultural wealth which the Colonies poured into the lap of Great Britain in exchange for her fabrics, was grateful to her people, and when interest swayed her actions, she lent a helping hand in their progressive career. But her avarice and ambition too often filmed her vision to her *true* interests; and this political blindness led her into the monstrous error of oppressing her children; children who regarded her with affection and reverence, and who never dreamed of leaving the paternal roof, until the unholy chastisements of a

parent's hand alienated their love, expelled them from the threshold, and compelled them to seek shelter and security behind the bulwarks of a righteous rebellion.*

* "Q. What was the temper of America toward Great Britain before the year 1763?"

"A. The very best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the crown, and paid in their courts, obedience to acts of Parliament. Numerous as the people are in the several old provinces, they cost you nothing in forts, citadels, garrisons, or armies, to keep them in subjection. They were governed by this country, at the expense only of a little pen, ink, and paper; they were led by a thread. They had not only a respect, but an affection for Great Britain; for its laws, its customs and manners, and even a fondness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Britain were always treated with particular regard; to be an *Old England man*, was, of itself, a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us.

"Q. And what is their temper now?

"A. Oh, very much altered."—*Examination of Dr. Franklin before the British House of Commons, relative to the repeal of the American Stamp Act.*

EVENTS FROM 1763 TO 1770.

Benjamin Franklin—George Grenville—Patrick Henry.

CHAPTER II.

E now enter upon the consideration of a period in the history of the world, of intense interest—a period to which the annalists of the Past pointed prospectively with hopeful aspirations; and towards which the chroniclers of the Future will look retrospectively with grateful benedictions upon their lips. It was a period dimly seen in the vista of the then future, of Plato and all succeeding political seers and sages, down to "Eutopian More;" and it will ever be a period to which the enlightened statesman of

the world will point the sceptic and the prophet of evil, bid him gaze upon the dawn of the New Era, and in its glorious light read the creed of faith in Human Progress, and believe in the mundane regeneration of man.

Although amid the wild labyrinths of American forests, and along the stormy coasts of the Atlantic, the problem of political and social equality was patiently solved and demonstrated; although the conception and birth of those mighty truths—TAXATION AND EQUITABLE REPRESENTATION ARE INSEPARABLE—GOVERNMENTS DERIVE THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED—that had so long reposed in the womb of Time, were brought forth; although these, the Romulus and Remus of a new empire, were cherished by what the Iranian refinement of Europe would have defined the Wolf of the western world, yet the beneficent effects of that event are confined to no particular region; they are the birth-right of humanity—their glory is the pride of the earth. The pure and fervent Spirit of Liberty gave vitality to these new manifestations of truth—it stood sponsor at their baptism in blood—it rocked their cradle even at the foot of the throne—it panoplied them for the conflicts in which they are now engaged, and it will be chief mourner at their grave when the finger of Decay shall write their epitaph.

In the preceding chapter we have noted the rapid progress of the English Colonies in the attainment of every constituent of national greatness, yet loyally expending blood and treasure for the maintenance of the power and dignity of the British crown. We have seen them rushing to the battle-field and enduring every hardship, when the home government demanded their aid, and then patiently submitting to manifest wrong from the very hand their loyalty and prowess had strengthened. But there is a point beyond which endurance becomes no longer a virtue, and to that point the Colonies were at length driven. The British king, like Rehoboam, "forsook the counsel which the old men gave him, and took counsel with the young men that were brought up with him, that stood before him;"* and in effect said to the Colonies, "whereas my father put a heavy yoke upon you, I will put more to your yoke: my father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions."† And "when the people saw that the king would not hearken unto them," they took counsel among themselves, and a shout went up from every hill and valley, city and hamlet, mountain and plain from the rock of Plymouth to the lagoons of Florida, "To your tents, Oh Israel."‡

For a long period the colonists had endured, almost without a

* 2 Chronicles x., 2. † Verse 11. ‡ Verse 16.

murmur, various acts of oppression, neglect and insult, from the supreme government; but as they were chiefly of a character that affected them commercially, they were easily kept from open oppo sition by the example of the narrow policy of commercial nations, which at that time prevailed. And yet it is surprising that they submitted patiently so long; for they were so far separated from Europe and the influence of its society, and had been so long accustomed to act with almost unrestrained wills in matters of legislation, regarding the assumption of the "divine right of kings" as preposterous and logically untenable, that we would naturally look npon them as the readiest to repel encroachments upon their political and civil rights.

As early as 1651 the enactments of parliament, in reference to the commercial policy of the Colonies (and particularly the colony of Virginia, that had at times evinced a refractory spirit), were really oppressive and unjust in the extreme. The Navigation Act adopted and put in force that year, and confirmed and extended in 1660, struck a paralysing blow at the infant commercial navy of the Colonies. It declared that no merchandise of the English plantations should be imported into England in any other than English vessels, thus benefiting English shipping; and, for the benefit of English manufacturers, it prohibited exportation from the Colonies, and the introduction from one colony into another, of hats, and woollens of domestic manufacture; forbade hatters to have at one time more than two apprentices; prohibited the importation of sugar, rum, and molasses, without the payment of exorbitant duties; forbade the erection of certain iron works, and the manufacture of steel; and prohibited the felling of pitch and white-pine trees, not comprehended within inclosures.*

In 1733, parliament enacted laws imposing duties upon sugar, molasses, &c.; yet, these revenue laws were administered with so much laxity, that the payment of the duties was for many years evaded, and the statute openly violated, without incurring the serious displeasure of the home government. To a certain extent, the British monopoly of the commerce of the Colonies was nominal; and, so long as the latter were allowed to carry on a lucrative contraband trade unmolested, they were of course disposed to regard the statute as a very harmless thing. But British cupidity at length aroused British jealousy on this point, and, in 1761, attempts were made to enforce the tariff act, by the requisition, from the colonial courts, of general search-warrants, entitled "writs of assistance." These writs authorized the officers of the king to search for articles sus-

* Willson's United States, page 195.

pected of having been introduced into the Colonies without the payment of the required duties. The merchants generally did not dispute the *right* of parliament to enact these revenue laws affecting the Colonies, but they justly complained of the violent and illegal manner in which they were frequently enforced by the government servants.

These oppressive measures increased, and at length became so onerous, that open resistance was resolved upon. In Boston, violent excitements prevailed;[a] applications for writs were met by the bold opposition of the people, encouraged by the fearless voice of Otis, and others, who denounced these oppressions as unworthy of a civilized nation, and especially of a nation holding the relation that Great Britain did to her Colonies. Respectful remonstrances were unnoticed by the king and his ministers, or, if noticed at all, called forth more stringent measures. The entire subservience of the Colonies, and the unqualified right of the government to legislate for, and to tax them, was so much the universal sentiment in Great Britain, that, according to Pitt, "even the chimney sweepers on the streets talked boastingly of their subjects in America!"* The admiralty undertook the labor of enforcing the laws, in strict accordance with the letter, and intrusted the execution thereof to the commanders of vessels, whose authoritative habits made them the most unfit agents for such a service, and against such a people. Vessels engaged in the contraband trade were seized and confiscated, and the colonial commerce with the West Indies was nearly annihilated. These events caused the colonists to ponder seriously; and their minds were opened, perhaps for the first time, to the importance of a state of Independence.

[a] 1763.

By successive changes in the British ministry, George Grenville, who for some time fought shoulder to shoulder with Pitt in the parliament, but had forsaken him to hold office under Bute, succeeded to the premiership, becoming at once First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Grenville is represented as "an honest statesman, of great political knowledge and indefatigable application; but his mind, according to Burke, could not extend beyond the circle of official routine, and was unable to estimate the result of untried measures."† He found an empty treasury—drained by the vampire appetite of War; and his first care was to devise means to replenish it.‡ The English people were seriously complaining of

* Parliamentary Debates. † Murray.

‡ The budget of 1764 exhibited an expenditure hitherto unprecedented, having a deficiency of about three millions sterling, which was with difficulty supplied by temporary resources and by encroachments on the sinking fund.—*Adolphus's History of England*, vol. i., p. 159.

Proposed Stamp Tax. The bill presented and postponed.

the heavy burden of taxation resting upon them, and he feared to increase its weight. Influenced by what to him appeared an unquestionable right, he resolved to tax the American Colonies for the support of the government. He knew their capacity to pay a certain revenue, he believed it right that they should pay it, and, in the face of all the hostility then manifested by the Colonies to the oppressive enactments of parliament, he introduced into the House a series of resolutions[a] respecting new duties to be laid on foreign goods imported by the Americans. These resolutions passed with little notice, General Conway being the only member who opposed them, and on the 5th of April the bill received the royal assent. He also proposed raising a direct revenue from the Colonies in the shape of a stamp-tax, but that scheme was at the time withdrawn, with the intimation that it would be again brought forward at the earliest opportunity. On the 19th of April, the king prorogued parliament, and expressed his hearty approval of the measures proposed; denominated them wise regulations, calculated to augment the public revenues, to unite the interests of his most distant possessions, and to encourage and to secure their commerce with Great Britain. The country gentlemen congratulated themselves on the pleasing prospect of a diminution of the land-tax, and no class seemed aware of the mighty mischief set in motion by these measures.*

[a] March 10, 1764.

On the 5th of May, Mr. Grenville proceeded to bring in an act for imposing the proposed stamp-duty, but assured the agents of the Colonies, with whom he conferred on the matter, that it was not his intention to push the measure through that session, but to give them an opportunity to reflect upon it and adopt that, or any other mode of raising the required sum of £100,000.† The strange apathy which prevailed in England upon this subject, caused the adoption of the resolutions in the House of Commons with scarcely a dissenting voice. It was then postponed, at the suggestion of the mover, until the next session.

But it was an inauspicious moment for the "gentle Shepherd"‡ to bring forward his bold proposition for shearing the great flock on

* Pictorial History of England, vol. v., p. 34.

† Pitkin, vol. i., p. 163.

‡ In the famous debate on the "Cider Bill," George Grenville contended that the money was wanted, that government did not know where to lay another tax; and, addressing Mr. Pitt, he said, "Why does he not tell us where we can levy another tax?" repeating, with emphasis, "Let him tell me where—only tell me where!" Pitt, though not much given to joking, hummed in the words of a favorite song,—"Gentle Shepherd, tell me where!" The House burst into a roar of laughter, and christened George Grenville *the Gentle Shepherd.—Pictorial History of the Reign of George III.*, vol. i., p. 34.

this side of the Atlantic. In addition to the manifest injustice of this measure, the Colonies were suffering severely from the recent cruelties of the Indians on the frontier. On quitting Canada, the French government had not broken off all connexion with the Indians; and partly through the encouragements of their agents, and partly through some encroachments made by the English upon their hunting grounds, the Indian nations or tribes flew to arms with the intention of making a combined attack on all the settlements, in harvest-time. In some places their secret was betrayed, and their movement anticipated; but they fell like a flight of locusts upon Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, plundering, burning, and destroying, till the frontiers of those three provinces were left bare and void of inhabitants. The Indians also surprised and captured several British forts in Canada, and massacred the weak and unsuspecting garrisons they found in them. Their flying parties also intercepted and butchered detachments of troops that were marching from place to place, plundered and murdered the traders who were up the country, and cut off the communication between the interior and the sea-port towns. When attacked by small bodies of English troops, who trusted to their discipline for an easy victory, they displayed, not only courage, but considerable military skill, which seems to prove that French officers or soldiers had been among them. They defeated Captain Dalzel near Fort Detroit, and killed that unfortunate officer; they attacked Colonel Bogart, and forced him to abandon his baggage and the supplies he was carrying to Fort Pitt (late Fort Du Quesne); and, near the Falls of Niagara, they surrounded an escort and slew about eighty men and officers. Fortunately, Sir William Johnson was able to detach the tribes of the Six Nations of Indians from the confederacy, and induce them to join the British against the other Indians. After various skirmishes and surprises, the savages submitted to conditions, or retired further into the depths of their native forests.

The greater part of these calamities had befallen the Colonies in the summer and autumn of the preceding year (1763); but the recollection of them was recent, and the losses that had been sustained were making themselves more and more painfully felt, when the Grenville propositions arrived. Every citizen, moreover, was armed in defence of his home and his property against the Indians; and when men have muskets in their hands, and in their hearts the certainty that their quarrel will become a general one, they are not likely to limit themselves to murmur and complaints, petitions and remonstrances. The colonists loudly proclaimed that to interrupt their trade, such as it was, with the Spanish Main, would be depriv-

ing them of their best resources; that it was unreasonable for the king and parliament of Great Britain to convert themselves into guardians and protectors of the jealous, exclusive, anti-commercial system of Old Spain; and that it was monstrously unjust for them to impose taxes upon a people who were not, and could not, be represented in parliament.*

In all the colonial assemblies wherein the subject was acted upon, they asserted the claim to the sole right of imposing taxes upon their fellow citizens. They maintained, that recent duties on goods had materially encroached on this right; that if they once submitted to the right of the mother country to tax them, there was no possibility of fixing the limit to the exercise of it in relieving the British subject at home by casting the burden upon the Americans. New England passed strong resolutions of remonstrance, and forwarded earnest petitions to the king to pause; and several of the other States, particularly Virginia and New York, adopted the same course in firm but respectful language, and placed foremost in their catalogue of just causes for complaint, the violation of that fundamental principle —"TAXATION AND REPRESENTATION ARE INSEPARABLE." They demonstrated that the Colonies were neither actually nor virtually represented in the British parliament; they declared that they had hitherto supposed that the assistance which Great Britain had given them was offered from motives of humanity, and not as the price of their liberty; and if she now wished a remuneration, she must make allowance for all the assistance she had received from the Colonies during the late war, and for the oppressive restrictions she had imposed upon American commerce. They plainly told Great Britain, that, as for her protection, they had full confidence in their own ability to protect themselves against any foreign enemy.

These remonstrances and petitions were transmitted by the Colonies to their agents in London, with full instructions to oppose to the utmost as far as opportunity should offer, the adoption of any and all of these oppressive measures. Pennsylvania appointed a new agent, and chose for that responsible duty, Benjamin Franklin, who at that time possessed more influence in America than any other man. A better choice could not well have been made. He was well known in England as a man of great sagacity and sound common sense, and he was almost as popular there as at home. The ability with which, on a former occasion, as agent for several of the Colonies, he had managed a difficult case before the Privy Council, gained for him the respect and confidence of ministers, and politicians of every party;

* Pictorial History of the Reign of George III., pp. 35–6.

so that when he appeared in London, with full instructions to oppose every scheme for taxing the colonies without their consent, he was consulted by Grenville; and his opinion of the hopelessness of the Americans ever submitting to the arbitrary mode of taxation proposed by that minister, was received with great deference, and doubtless stayed for a time the execution of the plan.

Notwithstanding the murmuring of the Colonies, and the strong opposition they had already manifested, when parliament was assembled early in 1765,[a] the king, in his opening speech, alluded to the subject of American taxation and American discontents; and, regardless of the tangible portents of a gathering storm, recommended the carrying out of Grenville's scheme, and the enforcing obedience in the Colonies. Encouraged by this recommendation, Mr. Grenville in February[b] brought his Stamp Act before parliament; and then attempted to conciliate the Americans through their agents, by offering to drop the proposed stamp tax, if they, on their part, would contribute about an equal sum in any other way more acceptable to themselves. To this offer, Franklin and the other agents replied, as they had done the previous year, that they were instructed to oppose that act, and any other that assumed as a principle, the right to tax the Colonies without their own consent. They contended that "in the course of the last memorable contest large sums had been repeatedly voted by parliament as an indemnification to the Colonies for exertions which were allowed to be disproportionate to their means and resources;* that the proper *compensation* to Britain for the expense of rearing and protecting her Colonies was the monopoly of their trade, the absolute direction and regulation of which was universally acknowledged to be inherent in the British crown."† But the king and his cabinet determined not to yield an iota of assumed right; and the British Legislature, by its vote on the resolutions of Grenville, evinced that it either considered the right indisputable, or of little moment. Even Pitt, the professed friend of the Colonies, who had been known to harangue the house in flannels and upon crutches, in defiance of gout and fever, upon a subject of far less importance than this, was absent when the debate and vote upon the resolutions of Grenville and others took place.‡

[a] Jan. 10.

[b] Feb. 7.

* In the first year of the reign of George III. the sum of one million of dollars was voted to the Colonies; and a similar vote passed subsequently, but the money was never paid.

† History of the Reign of George III., vol. i., page 36.

‡ His excuse was, an attack of the gout, but his enemies accuse him, and with some show of justice, of purposely withholding his warning and potential voice, in order that his political adversaries might take the fatal step,—he not caring for the humiliation of his country, nor for the miseries to be inflicted on humanity, provided

Apathy of Parliament. Speech of Colonel Barré.

Fifty-five resolutions were agreed to by the Commons and incorporated into an act for laying nearly the same stamp-duties on the American Colonies as were payable at the time in England. Strange to say, that this measure, destined to be the entering wedge for the dismemberment of the British empire, called forth in parliament what Burke termed "the most languid debate" he ever heard. A fatal delusion, or rather a fatal ignorance of American affairs, seemed to pervade both the parliament and the cabinet. Even the intelligent Horace Walpole, who was in the House reporting everything of moment to the Earl of Hertford, devoted but a single paragraph of a few lines, to the debate that day on American affairs. Indeed, Walpole confessed his total ignorance of American affairs. Yet there *was* a voice lifted up in defence of the colonies on that day that proved awfully prophetic—there *was* a mind in that Legislature that comprehended the magnitude of the subject before them—there was a heart that beat in unison with the strong pulsations of the oppressed; and that voice, and mind, and heart, belonged to Colonel Barré, who had served his king in the armies of America, and who well knew the country and the people. When Charles Townshend, the most eloquent man in the Commons, in the absence of Pitt, ventured, in support of the Stamp Act, to declare that the Americans were very ungrateful, being "children planted by our care, and nourished by our indulgence," Barré indignantly burst forth;—"They planted by your care! No! your oppression planted them in America—they fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable wilderness, exposed to all the hardships to which human nature is liable. They nourished by your indulgence! No! they grew by your neglect of them; your *care* of them was displayed, as soon as you began to care about them, in sending persons to rule over them who were the deputies of deputies of ministers—men whose behavior on many occasions has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them—men who have been promoted to the highest seats of justice in that country, in order to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own. I have been conversant with the Americans, and I know them to be loyal indeed, but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if ever they should be violated; and let my prediction of this day be remembered, *that the same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first, will accompany them still!*" But this prediction, uttered with all the earnestness of truth, was unheeded, and fell upon the ears of British statesmen like the feeble intonating of distant

the hostile administration were rent in pieces, and the powers of the crown thrown again at his feet.

thunder, fearful in its character but harmless in present effect. Petitions presented by English merchants trading with the Colonies, as well as those from the Colonies themselves, and their agents resident in London, were treated with contempt; and the parliament seemed to verify the ancient heathen maxim, that "whomsoever the gods decree that they will destroy, they first deprive of reason." In the House, there was only one division, and the act passed by a majority of two hundred and fifty to fifty; and in the Lords with scarcely any opposition.* On the 22d of March the king joyfully gave his assent, and the Stamp Act—the ever memorable Stamp Act became law.†

Franklin had repeatedly warned ministers and members of parliament to beware how they multiplied causes for discontent in the Colonies.‡ He now told them again that the Americans would never submit to the operations of the Stamp Act; and events that immediately transpired proved the truth of his assertions. When the news reached America, it excited indignation and general alarm. Bold patriots denounced it as an iniquitous scheme to enslave the Colonies, while timid men viewed it with trembling presentiments of long years of trouble and desolation. The tone of feeling manifested in the provincial assemblies, and in primary meetings of the people, portended the gathering storm of opposition, and it was not long before it became a perfect hurricane. Virginia, which had ever been a loyal Colony, yet always jealous of her liberty, took the lead in the demonstrations of defiance, and in a series of resolutions introduced into the House of Burgesses on the 30th of May by Patrick Henry, first hurled the gauntlet at the feet of the British king.§ The first of these resolutions declared that the original settlers of the Colonies brought with them and transmitted to their posterity, all the privileges, franchises, and immunities, enjoyed by the people of Great Britain. The second affirmed that these privileges, &c., had been secured to

* Mr. Grenville, at a subsequent period, said, in the House of Commons, "I did propose the Stamp Act, and shall have no objections to have it christened by my name. There was only one division in the committee against it, and not a single negative in the House of Lords. It is easy to give an *ex post facto* judgment, but of all who acted with me in the government, I never heard any one prophecy that the measure would be opposed. After the event prophecy is very safe. The Honorable Colonel Barré did indeed say, that he knew not what anger it might cause in America."—*Cavendish's Debates.*

† See note I., Appendix.

‡ On the very night the Act was passed, Doctor Franklin wrote to Charles Thomson, who was afterwards Secretary to Congress, "The Sun of Liberty is set; the Americans must light the lamps of Industry and Economy." To which Mr. Thomson replied, "Be assured we shall light torches of another sort," thus predicting the convulsions that would follow.

§ They were drawn up on the blank leaf of an old volume of "Coke upon Littleton."—*Wirt.*

Patrick Henry before the Virginia Assembly. P. 63

the aforesaid colonists by two royal charters granted by King James. The third asserted that taxation of the people by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves, was the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, and without which the ancient constitution could not subsist. The fourth maintained that the people of Virginia had always enjoyed the right of being governed by their own Assembly in the article of taxes, and that this right had been constantly recognised by the king and people of Great Britain. The fifth resolution, in which was summed up the essentials of the preceding ones, declared "That the General Assembly of this Colony have the sole right and power to levy taxes and imposition upon the inhabitants of this Colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British, as well as American, freedom."

The introduction of these resolutions was like the fall of a thunderbolt within that Assembly; and when the first shock had subsided, many who afterwards were distinguished patriots, sprang to their feet in opposition to them; and all the eloquence of such men as Randolph, Pendleton, Bland, Wythe, &c., was employed to crush them; not because they were not in unison with their sentiments, but they felt them to be premature and too bold. Yet, after a stormy debate, in which the eloquence of Henry was most powerfully brought forth,* they were carried; the latter by a majority of one. The impulse here given, went through the Colonies like an electric spark—the whole country was aroused to action—timid spirits became bolder—similar resolutions were generally adopted, and the great point of resistance to British assumption of power to tax the Colonies without their consent, was everywhere established. Expressions of sentiments of high regard were everywhere heard, coupled with the names of Pitt, Conway, Barré, and other members of the British House of Commons, who had boldly lifted their voices in defence of American Rights; and the freeholders of Boston

* "It was in the midst of this magnificent debate, while he was descanting on the tyranny of the obnoxious Act, that he exclaimed, in a voice of thunder, and with the look of a god: 'Cæsar had his Brutus—Charles the First his Cromwell—and George the Third'—[Treason!' cried the Speaker]—treason, treason, echoed from every part of the House. It was one of those trying moments which is decisive of character. Henry faltered not for an instant; but, rising to a loftier altitude, and fixing on the Speaker an eye of the most determined fire, he finished the sentence with the firmest emphasis—'and George the Third—may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it.'"—*Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry.*

passed a formal vote of thanks to the two latter gentlemen, and ordered their portraits for Faneuil Hall.

Early in 1765, the Corresponding Committee of the New York Assembly (appointed in October, 1764) proposed the holding of a Congress of Delegates from the several Colonies, in the city of New York. This proposition was repeatedly agitated, until at length the Assembly of Massachusetts addressed the following circular letter[a] to the Speakers of all the provincial assemblies :—

[a] June 7, 1765.

"BOSTON, *June*, 1765.

"SIR : The House of Representatives of this Province, in the present session of general court, have unanimously agreed to propose a meeting, as soon as may be, of committees from the House of Representatives or Burgesses, of the several British Colonies on this continent, to consult together on the present circumstances of the Colonies, and the difficulties to which they are and must be reduced by the operation of the Acts of Parliament, for levying duties and taxes on the Colonies ; and to consider of a general and united, dutiful, loyal and humble, representation of their condition to his Majesty and to the Parliament, and to implore relief.

"The House of Representatives of this Province have also voted to propose that such meeting be at the city of New York, in the Province of New York, on the first Tuesday in October next, and have appointed a committee of three of their members to attend that service, with such as the other Houses of Representatives or Burgesses, in the several Colonies, may think fit to appoint to meet them ; and the Committee of the House of Representatives of this Province, are directed to repair to the said New York, on the first Tuesday in October next, accordingly ; if, therefore, your honorable House should agree to this proposal, it would be acceptable that as early notice of it as possible might be transmitted to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of this Province."

This circular was received by the several representative bodies to whom it was addressed, with tokens of unqualified approbation, and its suggestions were speedily acted upon by the appointment of delegates. Meanwhile, the excitement against the Stamp Act, which was to go into operation on the first of November ensuing, became universal. True, there were some men—men of sterling worth, who viewed the matter in the same light as did the British parliament, and endeavored to quiet the turbulence and discontent by appeals to loyalty ; but such men were comparatively few, and daily decreasing in numbers. Popular speakers—men of wealth, reputation, and commanding talents, were daily pouring patriotic eloquence into the

ears of excited throngs in every part of the country; at town-gatherings and other assemblies, resolutions were adopted expressive of the strongest feelings of indignation; and in view of the oppressive operation of the Stamp Act when practically in force, the hearts of the American people seemed to beat as one with deep pulsations of patriotic resistance.

In the midst of this general popular ferment, the FIRST COLONIAL CONGRESS assembled at New York on the first Monday in October.[a] This being somewhat earlier than the meeting of some of the Colonial Assemblies, thereby preventing them from appointing delegates, it was agreed, by the adoption of a rule, to admit as delegates several committees of the Members of Assembly from such Colonies. Under this rule New York was represented by the corresponding committees, at whose suggestion, some months previous, Massachusetts sent forth her circular letter. Nine of the thirteen Colonies were represented; and the Assemblies of New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia, who did not send delegates, wrote that they would agree to whatever was done by the Congress.

[a] Oct. 7.

What a sublime moral spectacle was that meeting of the first Colonial Congress! There were convened the representatives of many distinct communities—as politically distinct as were the Grecian Republics, yet actuated by one sentiment—the assertion of human equality—the maintenance of the glorious franchisements of freedom—positive and uncompromising resistance to wrong and oppression. "The more this subject is investigated, the more obvious will become the fact, that the American Revolution was essentially a wider diffused, a more general impulse, enlisting not only a greater number of distinct communities, independent of each other, than had hardly ever been associated before, but that the proportion of individual, *personal* participation, a participation in which individual *judgment* was called into requisition, and individual *responsibility* incurred, had seldom been equalled. It was no momentary impulse —no burst of passion."* This incipient step was not the reckless leap of hot-headed fanaticism into the arena of an aimless contest, but it was the result of cool deliberation, and its object was the highest political destiny of man. This first Congress, although so remote from the stirring scenes of the Revolution proper, may be considered the *fountain spring* of that convulsion—the "*ovum reipublicæ*" —truly the egg of our republic.

The Congress was organized by the election, by ballot, of Timothy

* Niles's Register.

Ruggles of Massachusetts, Chairman, and the appointment of John Cotton, Clerk.* It continued in session fourteen consecutive days, and adopted a DECLARATION OF RIGHTS;* a PETITION TO THE KING, and a MEMORIAL TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.†

At the close of the session, all the delegates except Mr. Ruggles of Massachusetts, and Mr. Ogden of New Jersey, affixed their signatures of approval to the proceedings. The deputies from three of the Colonies, not having been authorized by their respective assemblies to apply to the King and Parliament, did not sign the petition and memorial; but subsequently all the Colonies, by the votes of their respective assemblies, approved of the measures then adopted.

On the arrival of the first cargo of stamps and stamped paper, prompt and energetic action succeeded threats, and in the various cities where they were landed, popular tumults ensued. Boston seemed to be the grand centre of these convulsions. The mob formed an effigy of Mr. Oliver, the Stamp-Master, and hung it up on a tree,[a] and the sheriff, who was ordered to take it down, declared that the sacrifice of life would be the price of the undertaking. At evening twilight it was carried to the town house, where the government council was assembled, and in bold defiance of their authority, the mob raised three loud huzzas. They then took the effigy to the front of Oliver's house, where, after having cut off its head, they burst open his door, declaring their intention to murder him. But Mr. Oliver had escaped, and was obliged to keep

[a] Aug. 15.

* On the opening of the session the following delegates appeared with their credentials and took their seats:—From

Massachusetts,	*Rhode Island,*	*Connecticut,*
James Otis,	Metcalf Bowler,	Eliphalet Dyer,
Oliver Partridge,	Henry Ward.	David Rowland,
Timothy Ruggles.		William S. Johnson.
New York,	*Pennsylvania,*	*Maryland,*
Robert R. Livingston,	John Dickenson,	William Murdock,
John Cruger,	John Morton,	Edward Tilghman,
Philip Livingston,	George Bryan.	Thomas Ringgold.
William Bayard,		
Leonard Lispenard.		
New Jersey,	*Delaware,*	*South Carolina,*
Robert Ogden,	Thomas McKean,	Thomas Lynch,
Hendrick Fisher,	Cæsar Rodney.	Christopher Gadsden,
Joseph Borden.		John Rutledge.

† The Declaration of Rights was penned by John Cruger, delegate from New York. He was at that time Speaker of the Provincial Assembly, and Mayor of the city of New York. The Petition to the King was written by Robert R. Livingston, also a member from New York.

‡ See note II., Appendix.

concealed to avoid the ire of the populace. The next morning, to save his life, he resigned his office; and to prevent a successor, whenever any one was named as such, a day was fixed for burning his house; and a bonfire was lighted in front of it amid cries of "liberty and property."

On the twenty-sixth of August, the mob proceeded to still greater extremities, demolishing the dwellings of the Registrar-deputy and Comptroller of the Customs, and attacking the residence of the Governor. He would doubtless have been murdered by them, had he not escaped after much persuasion by his family. The populace rushed in with furious threats of murder, and at once began the destruction of everything that came within their reach. The Governor had a fine library, containing many important manuscripts illustrative of the early history of the Colony from its first settlement. This was not spared, but was totally destroyed. Plate, rings, money, and other valuable articles bestrewed the street the next morning, showing that a desire for plunder had no share in the motives that impelled the people. These acts were disgraceful in the extreme, when viewed superficially; but when we consider the intense feeling of an uneducated mass, as were the majority of the actors in these scenes, aroused by appeal after appeal to their passions by men eminent for virtue and patriotism, we ought to view their conduct with much charitable allowance.

On the morning after the proceedings at the Governor's house, the mob seemed to have fresh energy for further outrages; and the principal inhabitants, seeing the entire city threatened with destruction, proceeded to the Governor, and offered to restore order and the dominion of law, provided no penal proceedings should be held on account of the first tumult, which was directed solely against the stamps. These conditions were very humiliating to the haughty Governor, but he was forced to make a virtue of necessity, and yielded.

In New York and Philadelphia similar tumults prevailed, although less violent. In the former city the people armed, attacked the fort, where the stamps were lodged, and the commander, to preserve them, placed them in the hands of the magistrates, who in their turn were obliged to yield to popular indignation, and allow the obnoxious articles to be destroyed.

Although these lawless proceedings were chiefly confined to the lower class of the population, yet the more enlightened and influential class of citizens were pressing forward to the same righteous goal, but in a different, a more dignified way. The Virginia resolutions fired the eastern leaders with renewed zeal, and in several

places societies were formed whose members styled themselves "*Sons of Liberty*." They at length formed a powerful combination throughout the Colonies. They denounced the Stamp Act as a flagrant outrage on the British constitution; resolved to defend the liberty of the press at all hazards; and solemnly pledged their lives, fortune and honor in defence of those who, in the exercise and maintenance of their rights as freemen, should become the objects of British tyranny and injustice.

The merchants of the sea-port towns entered into engagements with each other not to import goods from Great Britain until the Stamp Act should be repealed. Patriotic individuals and families ceased the use of foreign luxuries; articles of domestic manufacture came into general use, and the trade with Great Britain was almost entirely suspended.*

When the first of November arrived (the day on which the obnoxious act was to go into operation), a strange spectacle was presented to the world. According to the terms of the Act, no legal business could be transacted without the use of the stamped paper; and as the people had solemnly resolved not to use it, business was for a time entirely suspended. "The courts were closed; marriages ceased; vessels were delayed in the harbors; and all the social and mercantile affairs of a Continent stagnated at once."†

At Boston the colors of the shipping were hoisted half-mast; the bells tolled, the shops were shut, effigies of the royalists were carried about in derision and torn in pieces. At Portsmouth the bells tolled, a coffin was made, on the lid was inscribed "LIBERTY, AGED 145," and with unbraced drums, and minute guns, a procession followed it to the grave. At the close of an oration, the coffin was taken up, signs of life appeared in the corpse, "LIBERTY REVIVED," was substituted, the bells rung merrily, and joy lighted every countenance. At Philadelphia, the people spiked the guns on the ramparts of their defences; and at New York the obnoxious act was printed with a

* In 1769, when similar agreements were entered into, Washington, alluding to the subject in a letter to a friend, remarked; "We have already, it is said, proved the inefficiency of addresses to the throne, and remonstrances to Parliament. How far, then, their attention to our rights and privileges is to be awakened or alarmed, by starving their trade and manufactures, remains to be tried. The northern Colonies, it appears, are endeavoring to adopt this scheme. In my opinion it is a good one, and must be attended with salutary effects, provided it can be pretty generally carried into execution." Washington subsequently entered into such an agreement, and was scrupulous in observing it. When he sent his customary annual orders to London for goods to be used in his family, he strictly enjoined his correspondents to forward none of the enumerated articles, unless the offensive acts of Parliament should in the meantime be repealed.—*Sparks's Life of Washington*, pp. 109–10.

† Willson, p. 199.

Parade of the Stamp Act, in New York. P. 71.

skull and cross-bones instead of the royal arms, and contemptuously paraded through the streets under the title of "England's Folly and America's Ruin." A tumult occurred in Newport, R. I., and several obnoxious citizens were hung in effigy. At Providence also, similar acts prevailed; and a gazette extraordinary was published there, with the words "VOX POPULI, VOX DEI," in large letters at its head, and underneath, "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.—*St. Paul.*" In Connecticut, Ingersoll, the principal Stamp officer, was ordered to relinquish his office or suffer consequences which he could very well anticipate. Similar instructions were given to the Stamp officers in New Hampshire, Maryland and Carolina. A paper published in Boston, called "The Constitutional Courant; containing matters interesting to Liberty, and nowise repugnant to Loyalty," had for its frontispiece the representation of a serpent, cut into eight pieces; on the part of the head, were the initials of New England; and on that of the body, the initials of the other Colonies as far as South Carolina; and over it "JOIN OR DIE," in large letters. In Virginia, the notaries, attorneys, and justices of the peace declared that their functions had ceased; that they were unwilling to use the stamps, and thus be instrumental in inflicting a wrong upon the people. Firm, but respectful resistance on the part of the better class of the citizens, and wild and tumultuous defiance on the part of the uneducated populace, spoke plainly the universal sentiment against the Stamp Act and its practical results, and throughout the entire domain of the English provinces this ferment was visible.

In the meanwhile a change of ministry occurred, and the Marquis of Rockingham, an honorable and liberal statesman, took the place of Grenville. General Conway was one of the Cabinet, and Edmund Burke was the Premier's private secretary. Other men of liberal views were his counsellors, and a faint hope of better things under the new administration shed its light upon the Colonies, and, for a time, in a measure allayed the general excitement. But the king, doubtless really ignorant of the temper and true character of the Americans, was not easily conciliated in their favor, and hence the new ministry found it difficult to depart from the course marked out by Grenville towards the Colonies. In fact the subject still appeared too unimportant to call forth extraordinary exertions, notwithstanding the voice of popular tumult and discontent was borne to England upon every breeze from America. Parliament did not meet until the 17th of December, and then was almost immediately adjourned until after the Christmas holidays. In his speech, the King mentioned

incidentally, that something had occurred in America which might demand the serious attention of the legislature.

Parliament re-assembled on the 14th of January[a] and the King informed the Houses that no time had been lost on the first advice of disturbance in America, to issue orders to the Governors of the provinces, and to the commanders of the forces there, to use all the powers of the government in suppressing riots and tumults, and in the effectual support of British authority. When the debates upon American affairs occurred, Pitt was in his place, and nobly did he use his eloquence in defence of the Colonies, and the position they assumed on the subject of legal taxation. After expressing his regret that sickness compelled him to be absent when Grenville's resolutions were adopted, and censuring ministers for delay in giving notice of the disturbances, he proceeded to vindicate the Americans. "The Colonists," said he, "are subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen; equally bound by its laws and equally participating in the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. Taxes are the voluntary gift or grant of the Commons alone. . . . . When, therefore, in this House we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, your Majesty's Commons for Great Britain, give and grant to your Majesty, what? our own property? No; we give and grant to your Majesty the property of your Majesty's Commons of America. It is an absurdity in terms."

[a] 1766.

Mr. Grenville, with whom the fatal Stamp Act originated, attempted to show that there was nothing wrong in the act itself, but that all the difficulty had occurred through the mismanagement of those who had succeeded him in office. He agreed with Pitt in censuring ministers for delay in noticing the disturbances in America. "They began," said he, "in July, and now we are in the middle of January; lately they were only occurrences, they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion; and if the doctrines of this day be confirmed, that name will be lost in revolution." Expressing his inability to perceive the distinction attempted to be made by Mr. Pitt, he said, "When I proposed to tax America, I repeatedly asked this House if any objection would be made to the right; but no one attempted to deny that right. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America: America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me when the Americans were emancipated? When they want the protection of

this kingdom they are always ready to ask for it: that protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them protection; and now, they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expense—an expense arising from themselves—they renounce your authority; insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion." Fixing his eyes intently upon Pitt, he exclaimed with great emphasis, "*The seditious spirit of the Colonies owes its birth to factions in this House. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purposes of opposition.*"

When Grenville ceased speaking, several members sprang to their feet, and among them was Pitt. There was a loud cry of "Mr. Pitt, Mr. Pitt," and all but he sat down. He immediately fell upon Grenville, and told him that since he had challenged him to the field, he would fight him on every foot of it. "The gentleman tells us," said he, "that America is obstinate, America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest." Alluding to the alleged strength of Great Britain and the weakness of America, he said, "It is true, that in a good cause, on a good ground, the force of this country could crush America to atoms; but on this ground, on this Stamp Act, many here will think it a crying injustice, and I am one who will lift up my hands against it. In such a cause, your success would be hazardous. America, if she fall, would fall like the strong man: she would embrace the pillars of the State and pul ldown the Constitution along with her."* The orator concluded with an appeal to the House to exercise wisdom and moderation in their dealings with America, and in the words of Prior begged them—

> "Be to her faults a little blind:
> Be to her virtues very kind."

He then proposed an absolute, total, and immediate repeal of the Stamp Act; but recommended at the same time to accompany the repeal by the strongest declaration of the sovereign authority of Great Britain over her Colonies. His views were seconded by Rockingham, Conway, Burke, and nearly all the rest of the administration; and the petitions of the mercantile classes and others against the Stamp Act, which had been so haughtily rejected by

* History, Debates, &c., of the British Parliament, vol. iv., pp. 292–7.

Grenville, were now welcomed and honored. In a short time a repealing bill was presented by ministers.

It was at this time that the genius of Edmund Burke was first developed; and it is asserted by Dr. Johnson that his two speeches on the repeal of the Stamp Act, "were publicly commended by Mr. Pitt, and filled the town with wonder." Pitt, Conway, Barré and Burke, were the chief advocates of the repeal in the House of Commons, and Lord Camden in the House of Peers. After being six weeks in committee, the repeal bill was passed[a] by a large majority of the very men who, but a few months before, were almost unanimous in favor of the Stamp Act.* As a sort of salvo to the national honor, the bill, pursuant to Pitt's recommendation, was accompanied by a declaratory act, which affirmed that parliament had power *to bind the Colonies in all cases whatsoever*. This declaration seemed to imply the right of taxation; and, in a great measure, destroyed the intended effect of the repeal bill. Yet, without this appendage to soothe and conciliate the opposite party, the repeal bill could not have received a constitutional majority; but with this suffix, many were content to support the measure as a matter of expediency; and the majority in both Houses was considerable—in the Commons one hundred and eight, and in the Lords, thirty-four. Thirty-three peers entered a strong protest, stating therein, that after the declaration of power and authority already made, "such a submission of King, Lords and Commons, in so strange and unheard-of a contest" would amount to an entire surrender of British supremacy.†

[a] March 18.

Yet it was done—the royal assent was reluctantly given, and the act of repeal became law.[a]

[a] March 18.

The passage of this act was the source of great joy both in England and America. The manufacturers, and the friends of America in London, made great demonstrations of gratification. Many houses were splendidly illuminated, and the shipping in the Thames displayed their colors.

When the news of the repeal reached America, a thrill of joy and satisfaction pervaded the whole population; the ominous mutterings of the suppressed volcano of defiance and rebellion ceased, and everywhere were heard the plaudits of a truly grateful people. Business at once resumed its wonted activity; the importation of British

* It was during these debates that the celebrated examination of Dr. Franklin before the British Parliament took place. His celebrity as a philosopher, statesman, and man of candor, roused the attention of every mind. The galleries were crowded with spectators eager to hear so distinguished an individual speak upon a subject of so much moment.

† History, Debates, &c., vol. iv., 343.

goods was revived ; the sails of commerce were unfurled, and the whole social and political horizon became radiant with light. The House of Burgesses of Virginia voted an appropriation to erect a statue to the King ; the Assembly of Massachusetts addressed a memorial of thanks to Parliament ; public thanksgivings were held, and the furious storm that had raged for months, and threatened to uproot the British constitution, was succeeded by a profound calm which might have been permanent, had no subsequent acts of oppression excited to action the energies of a righteous resistance.

But this calm was of short duration. The declaratory act, regarded as harmless, contained the germ of other oppressions no less serious and unjust, and it was not long before the Colonies perceived the development of the bud, and they at once resorted to measures to prevent its expansion. They were soon convinced that the repeal bill was but a truce in the war upon American freedom ; and they speedily began to erect defences and prepare for another conflict.

Considerable trouble arose in the adjustment of the claims of the sufferers by the late disturbances. Compensation was demanded by General Conway in mild but firm language ; but the people, while they did not absolutely refuse to adjust these claims, were very backward in the liquidation of them. They were offended at the haughty manner in which, in many instances, these claims were demanded. In Massachusetts in particular, the requisitions of Governor Bernard were made so peremptorily, that the people, irritated, refused to pay, and tumult was threatened. After a long delay, the measure of compensation was agreed to by the Assembly of Massachusetts, and also of New York, but it was accompanied by a general pardon of all concerned in the riots.

Another cause of discontent and alarm was a new clause in the Mutiny Act,* which the Colonies viewed as disguised taxation in the form of a relief of burden from the shoulders of the home government. The clause provided that the troops sent out from England should be furnished with quarters, beer, salt, and vinegar, at the expense of the Colonies. This tax the people could easily have paid, and it would have been but a comparatively light burden, but the same principle was involved in this as in the Stamp Act. Besides, the soldiers were insolent and overbearing toward the citizens ; they were known to be quartered here for the purpose of abridging and subduing the independent action of the people, and the supplies

* The Mutiny Act granted power to every officer, upon obtaining a warrant from any justice, to break into any house, by day or by night, in search of deserters. This ostensible purpose was often used by unprincipled officers for the consummation of designs not contemplated by the Act.

demanded were to be drawn from the very men whom they came to injure and oppress. In New York, where the Act first came into operation, the Assembly refused to issue orders for its enforcement.* In other Colonies likewise, a spirit of resistance was again aroused, as strong and formidable as was evinced against the Stamp Act.

In the month of July, the Rockingham ministry, which, at its formation, seemed so united and promised such beneficial results from its labors, both to England and America, as to attract the anxious scrutiny of the friends and foes of popular freedom, was suddenly dissolved, and a new one formed under the direction and control of Mr. Pitt, who, by an act of special favor of the King was elevated to the peerage,[a] with the title of Earl of Chatham. The King intrusted to him the absolute privilege of choosing a cabinet agreeable to his own inclinations, the result of which was to the surprise of all, a most curious medley of discordant elements, in which neither party could place confidence. "He made an administration so chequered and speckled," said Burke; "he put together a piece of joinery so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; such a piece of diversified mosaic; such a tesselated pavement without cement; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers, King's friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends and open enemies; that it was indeed a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand on. The colleagues whom he had assorted at the same boards, stared at each other, and were obliged to ask, Sir, your name?—Sir, you have the advantage of me—Mr. Such-a-one, I beg a thousand pardons. I venture to say it did so happen, that persons had a single office divided between them, who had never spoken to each other in their lives, until they found themselves they knew not how, pigging together, heads and points, in the same truckle-bed."† Indeed all parties were astonished at the want of sound judgment displayed by Pitt in the formation of his cabinet, and forebodings of evil agitated the minds of men both friendly and inimical to him. The attacks of gout, which so frequently incapacitated him for public business, rendered it quite certain that to a great extent, the cabinet would be ruled by other minds, of less strength and necessary forecast than his own.

[a] July 30.

Nor were these presentiments vain speculations. While the Earl of Chatham was confined at Hayes, his country-seat, by sickness, Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, in the absence of his Lordship, assumed to be the head of the administration,

* Speech on American Taxation. † Pitkin, vol. i., p 215.

coalesced with Grenville, the former Premier, and father of the Stamp Act, in the production of another scheme for taxing America. Townshend introduced a bill into Parliament,[a] imposing duties on glass, paper, painters' colors, and tea. A similar proposition, by which the Colonies were to be taxed to the amount of four hundred thousand pounds sterling per annum, had been submitted by Grenville as early as January; but at that time, Mr. Townshend considered the measure impolitic, in consequence of the excited state of the Colonies. But now, impelled by inordinate vanity, he made the hopeless attempt of pleasing the most opposite parties, and pledged himself to the House to find a revenue in the Colonies sufficient to meet the wants of government. During the brief discussion of Townshend's bill, Mr. Pitt was absent, and there appeared the same apathy, the same profound ignorance of American character that was exhibited when the Stamp Act was submitted to the Legislature, and it passed rapidly through both Houses, with only here and there a voice of opposition. There were, however, a few who regarded the matter in its true light, and calculated the chances of a general insurrection in the Colonies, if any more attempts should be made to tax them without their consent. "In the Massachusetts government in particular," wrote Gerard Hamilton to Mr. Colcraft, "there is an express law, by which every man is obliged to have a musket, a pound of powder and a pound of bullets always by him; so there is nothing wanting but knapsacks (or old stockings, which will do as well) to equip an army for marching, and nothing more than a Sartorius or Spartacus at their head, requisite to beat your troops, and your custom-house officers, out of the country, and set your laws at defiance." Lord Shelburne warned ministers to have a care how they proceeded in the matter, and endeavored to impress Parliament with the *deep consideration* with which the subject should be viewed. But these notes of warning fell powerless upon prejudiced ears,—the bill received a large majority vote, and on the twenty-ninth of June the royal signature was affixed.

[a] May, 1767.

This act was immediately succeeded by another, establishing a Board of Trade in the Colonies, independent of Colonial legislation, and creating resident Commissioners of Customs to enforce strictly the revenue laws. And still another act was passed, prohibiting the Governor, Council, and Assembly of New York from passing any legislative act for any purpose whatsoever, and totally suspending the legislative power till satisfaction should be given as to the treatment of the King's commissioners, and full obedience rendered to the provisions of the Mutiny Act, by furnishing the royal troops with certain supplies, at the expense of the Colony.

When intelligence of the passage of these acts reached America, all the powerful elements of opposition so strongly manifested two years before when the Stamp Act received the royal sanction, were again aroused; and to unqualified denunciations were added bold denials of *any* legislative authority of Parliament over the Colonies. Everywhere the voice of oratory aroused the people to action; whilst the silent, yet powerful appeals of printed addresses scattered the seeds of rebellion within almost every household in America. Among the most powerful of these were the "Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer," from the pen of John Dickenson, of Philadelphia. These letters, twelve in number, were published during the summer and autumn of 1767, and their effect upon the destinies of our country is incalculable. Like the "*Crisis*" of Paine, they formed and controlled the will of the people, and gave efficiency to the right arm of action. The object of the letters was, to arouse the attention of the country to the illegality of British taxation, and to the necessity of adopting vigorous measures to induce the mother country to retrace her steps of oppression. In a style of great vigor, animation and simplicity, he portrayed the unconstitutionality of the conduct of Great Britain, the imminent peril to American liberty which existed, and the fatal consequences of a supine acquiescence in ministerial measures, more fatal as precedents, than by the immediate calamities they were calculated to produce. The Farmer's Letters were read with intense interest, and produced the effect not merely of enlightening the public mind, but of exciting the feelings of the people to a determination not to submit to the oppressive exactions of the mother country.*

Spirited resolutions were promptly adopted by the Colonial Assemblies, denouncing the acts of Parliament in unqualified terms of disapprobation. New associations, pledged to support domestic manufactures, and to cease the use of British goods, were formed, and commerce with the mother country was almost entirely suspended.

Early in January, 1768, the general Assembly of Massachusetts convened, and one of its first acts was to draw up a petition to the King, asserting in decided yet mild and courteous terms the right of not being taxed without their own consent. They then took a bolder step, one that most of all displeased the British ministry; they addressed a circular to all the other Colonies,[a] embodying the same sentiments expressed in the petition to the King, and inviting the co-operation of their several respective Assemblies. As soon as intelligence of this measure reached England, Lord Hillsborough sent instructions to Bernard, then Governor of the Massa-

[a] Feb.

* American Portrait Gallery, vol. iii.

chusetts Colony, to call upon the general Assembly to rescind its resolutions, and, in case of non-compliance with the demand, to dissolve them.

But these instructions, instead of intimidating the Assembly, gave fresh grounds for complaint, and additional cause for discontent; and in June, that body, by a vote of ninety-two to seventeen, refused to rescind,* adhered strenuously to their past proceedings, and passed resolutions denouncing these very instructions as another attempt to restrain the right of free deliberation, guaranteed by the constitution. The Governor, finding the threat of ministers of no avail, proceeded to dissolve the Assembly; but before the act was accomplished, that body had prepared a list of serious accusations against him, and a petition to the King for his removal.

Counter circulars were sent by government to the several Colonies, warning them to beware of imitating the factious and rebellious conduct of Massachusetts; but they entirely failed to produce the intended effect. On the contrary, the sympathies of the other Colonies were awakened for proscribed Massachusetts, and nearly all cordially approved of the proceedings had in her general Assembly; and some indignantly repelled this fresh attempt to dictate to them and influence their proceedings by the overshadowing of government power. At Boston, the chief point of resistance to British tyranny, causes for discontent and increased irritation of feeling were almost daily developed.

In May, the Commissioners of Customs arrived, and at once proceeded to the execution of their duties—duties as odious in the eyes of the people as were those of the Roman tax-gatherers of Judea in the days of Claudius Cæsar.

Early in June[a] the sloop Liberty, belonging to John Hancock, one of the most zealous and popular patriots of New England, arrived at Boston with a cargo of Madeira wine. The Commissioners sent an excise officer on board, but the skipper confined him below deck, and landed the wine on the dock, without entering it at the custom house, or the use of any other formula. The officer was then released and sent ashore. The next morning the Commissioners ordered a Comptroller to seize the sloop and clap the King's broad arrow upon her. A crowd immediately assembled at the wharf, and the Commissioners, fearing violence, made signals

[a] June 10.

* The following was the answer the House sent the Governor:—"If the votes of this House are to be controlled by the direction of a minister, we have left us but a vain semblance of liberty. We have now only to inform you that this House have voted not to rescind, and that on a division on the question, there were ninety-two yeas and seventeen nays."

to the Romney man-of-war, then lying at anchor at Boston, and the captain manned his boats and sent them to assist the excise officer. Malcolm, a bold smuggler, at the head of a mob of boys and negroes, attempted to prevent the seizure of the sloop, and pelted the exciseman and the sailors with stones and dirt; but the crews of the boats soon cut the sloop from her moorings and towed her under the guns of the Romney. The mob on shore became very violent; attacked the houses of the Commissioners, beat several of the officers severely, and burned a custom house boat. The Commissioners applied to the Governor for protection, but he was obliged to tell them that he had no force whatever to defend them; and they, becoming alarmed for the safety of their lives, fled on board the Romney, and subsequently took quarters in Castle William, a fortress on an island of that name nearly three miles south-east from Boston, and at the entrance of the harbor.

These lawless proceedings were strongly condemned by the Assemblies (although their feelings and sympathies were with the *cause* which the mob espoused), and they even invited the government to prosecute the ringleaders. Such a proceeding, however, would have had no beneficial result, for it would have been next to impossible to have found a jury to convict, such was the general excitement of the people against the government officers.

Governor Bernard, alarmed at these bold, tumultuous acts, and determined to uphold the authority of the British crown, right or wrong, took the greatly unwise step of introducing British troops into Boston to overawe the inhabitants and to protect the Commissioners of Customs in the discharge of their duties. At the request of the Governor,* General Gage, then Commander-in-chief of all the British forces in America, ordered two regiments, amounting to about seven hundred men, from Halifax, to be quartered at Boston. The first rumor of this contemplated outrage raised an extraordinary ferment, not only in Massachusetts, but throughout all the Colonies. At Boston a town meeting was immediately called, and when convened, a committee was appointed,† who waited upon the Govornor to ascertain the truth of the report, and request him to convene the Assembly. The Governor did not deny the fact, that troops were about to be thrown into Boston, but declared that he was unable

* Previously, however, to this request being made, and even a month or six weeks before the news of these Boston riots could have reached London, ministers had resolved to use force; and Lord Hillsborough, in a secret and confidential letter, had told General Gage that it was his Majesty's pleasure that he should forthwith send from Halifax one regiment or more to Boston, to be quartered in that town, to assist the civil magistrates and the officers of revenue.

† James Otis, John Hancock, John Adams and Samuel Adams.

to comply with their request without instructions from home. The tone of the Governor was more pacific; he was evidently alarmed. He feared the talent and popularity of several of the leaders, and attempted to gain their support, or at least to separate them from the cause they had espoused. He gave to Hancock a commission honoring him with a seat in the Council—the patriot tore up his commission in the presence of the people. He approached John Adams with an offer of the lucrative office of Advocate-General in the Court of Admiralty, but the unwavering patriot received his overtures with disdain, as an insidious attempt to corrupt his principles, and indignantly spurned the proffered boon. Samuel Adams, also, was tempted by the wily functionary, but he found him, as Governor Hutchinson subsequently did, "of such an obstinate and inflexible disposition that he could never be conciliated by any office or gift whatsoever." And the people, like their leaders, were "obstinate and inflexible."

Finding the Governor unwilling to comply with their solicitation to convene the Assembly, the people determined to find a substitute therefor, by inviting the other towns to nominate deputies, and form a convention possessing pro tempore legislative powers. They made the anticipation of a war with France a plausible pretence for calling upon the people to act in accordance with a law of the Colony, authorizing each one to provide himself with a musket, and the requisite ammunition. All the towns, except one, sent deputies, who assembled early in September. Their first act was to despatch a committee of three to the Governor, with a petition, disclaiming any idea of assuming any authoritative character, but professing merely to have met "in this dark and distressing time to consult and advise as to the best means of preserving peace and good order," and concluded with a request again to call the Assembly. The Governor positively refused to receive the message,—would not recognise the meeting as a lawful assemblage, and on the following day wrote a letter, warning them to desist from further proceedings, and admonishing them to separate without delay. His admonition passed unheeded for a time, but, unlike the excited citizens, they were desirous of using pacific measures of resistance; and they merely prepared a petition to the King, unfolding to him their grievances, but professing (as they really felt, aside from present oppressions) the most decided loyalty, and a desire to cultivate harmony with Great Britain. They also submitted an address to the people, which, in temperate language, set forth the alarming state of the country, yet earnestly inculcated submission to legal authority, and abstinence

from all acts of violence and tumult. They then quietly separated, after a session of five days.

Late in September, the troops arrived, and on the first of October, under cover of the cannon of the ships, landed in Boston, with charged muskets, fixed bayonets, colors flying, drums beating, and every other military parade usual on entering the domain of an enemy. The selectmen, or municipal authorities of Boston, peremptorily refused to provide quarters for the soldiers, and they were obliged to encamp, part on the Common, and part in the State House, which the Governor ordered to be opened to them. This imposing military display exasperated the people to the highest pitch; and mutual hatred, deep and abiding, was engendered between the soldiers and the inhabitants, and "rebel" and "tyrant" were constantly bandied between them.

The Colonies now entered into general agreements against the importation of British goods. This was a step that developed the true patriotism of the people, especially of the wealthier class, who were deprived of most of their luxuries and many of their comforts, by the act. Yet associations for this purpose became general and active in the several Colonies, under the sanction of the Assemblies. As usual, Massachusetts took the lead, and Virginia was the first to follow. In the House of Burgesses of the latter Colony, Washington presented a series of articles in the form of an association, drawn up by Mr. Mason. The House also passed several bold and pointed resolves, denying the authority of Parliament to impose taxes and enact laws hostile to the ancient liberties of the Colonies. Lord Botetourt, the Governor, whose sympathies were with the Colonies, could not, however, in justice to his position and the duty he owed to his sovereign, witness these proceedings in silence, and accordingly he went the next day to the Capitol, summoned the Burgesses to meet him in the council chamber, and there dissolved the Assembly. This exercise of official prerogative, although a virtual reprimand, did not at all intimidate them, and they forthwith repaired in a body to a private house, and unanimously adopted the non-importation agreement presented by Washington. Every member signed it, and it was then printed and sent into the country for the signatures of the people. Other Colonies followed the example.*

* The non-importation agreement of the people of Boston was as follows:— "We will not send for, or import from Great Britain, either upon our own account, or upon commission, this fall, any other goods than what are already ordered for the fall supply. We will not send for or import, any kind of goods or merchandise from Great Britain, from the first of January, 1769, to the first of January, 1770, except salt, coals, fish-hooks and lines, hemp and duck, bar lead and shot, wool

Parliament assembled on the 8th of November. Pitt, ill at his country-seat, and Townshend dead, the Duke of Grafton was at the head of the unpopular ministry. The speech from the throne alluded to fresh troubles in America, and denounced in strong terms the rebellious spirit which prevailed in Massachusetts Bay. The address proposed by ministers, alluded to the Americans in very harsh language, and assured the King of their determination to maintain his relative position to the Colonies, and to preserve inviolate "the supreme authority of the Legislature of Great Britain over every part of the British empire." The address was adopted in the House of Lords without opposition; but the Commons offered many objections, as it contained language and inferences not warranted by fact. They severely yet justly criticised the oppressive conduct of government toward America, as well as in its continental operations generally; and it was with extreme difficulty, after much angry debate and mutual criminations, that it was finally adopted by the lower House.[a]

[a] Jan. 1769.

Early in January Parliament proceeded to the consideration of measures towards America, exceeding in rigor all that had preceded. A petition from the people of Boston, couched in the most loyal and respectful language, was contemptuously rejected; and the Lords alleged, in a series of resolutions, that the people and Legislature of Massachusetts had been guilty of various illegal and treasonable acts, and that there was no probability of these crimes being properly punished in the country by native courts and juries; and recommended, in an address to the King, that the criminals should be taken over to England, and tried by a special commission, according to a statute of 35th of Henry VIII. The resolutions and address were sent to the Commons for concurrence, but, like their predecessor, they met there with a powerful opposition. Mr. Dodswell denounced the measure as "unfit to remedy the disorders," and as "cruel to the Americans, and injurious to England." He strongly censured the Secretary of State for taking the responsibility, during the recess of Parliament, of ordering the Colonial governors to dissolve the Assemblies.

Burke characterized all the preceding measures of government as rash, raw, indigested measures, which had inflamed America from

cards and card wires. We will not purchase of any factor or others, any kind of goods imported from Great Britain, from January, 1769, to January, 1770. We will not import, on our own account, or on commission, or purchase from any who shall import, from any other Colony in America, from January, 1769, to January, 1770, any tea, paper, glass, or painters' colors, until the act imposing duties on those articles shall be absolutely repealed."

one end of the country to the other. "At the desire of an exasperated Governor,"* he exclaimed, "we are called upon to agree to an address advising the King to put in force against the Americans the act of Henry VIII. And why? Because you cannot trust the juries of that country. Sir, that word must convey horror to every feeling mind. If you have not a party among two millions of people, you must either change your plan of government, or renounce the Colonies for ever." Even Grenville, the father of the Stamp Act, strenuously opposed the measure as not only futile, but unjust to the Americans. Many others,—some who had heretofore seemed almost indifferent upon this subject, lifted up their voices against it; yet, upon a division, the resolutions and address of the Lords were concurred in[a] by a majority of one hundred and fifty-five against eighty-nine.†

[a] Jan. 26.

On the eighth of February, Mr. Rose Fuller moved to recommit the address, and supported his motion by a masterly speech against the proposed measure of taking Americans to England for trial; and in reference to the proposed tax, he asserted; "As for the money, all that sum might be collected in London at less than half the expense."‡ He was warmly supported by Pownall, formerly Governor of Massachusetts, who, after referring to the history of the Colonies, the privations of the first settlers, their heroism, their virtues, their indomitable perseverance and enterprising spirit, remarked, "But now, that spirit, equally strong, and equally inflamed, has but a slight and trifling sacrifice to make; the Americans have not a country to leave, but a country to defend; they have not friends and relations to leave and forsake, but friends and relations to unite with and stand by, in one common union." He closed his speech with a solemn warning to ministers to stop short, retrace their steps, conciliate the Colonies by justice and kindness, or bear the fearful responsibility of driving loyal subjects to open rebellion. But the motion of Mr. Fuller was, upon a division, negatived by a majority of one hundred and sixty-nine against sixty-five.§ This law, however, became a dead letter, and was never put into execution.

On the 14th of March, a petition or remonstrance from the people of New York was offered, denying the right of Parliament to tax them in any way. Lord North, who had just begun his long and

* Bernard. † Cavendish's Debates.

‡ It has been said that when Mr. Charles Townshend's project of taxation was in agitation, the English merchants offered to pay the taxes, or an equivalent for them, rather than run the risk of provoking the Americans and losing their trade.—*Pic. His. of the Reign of George III., note page* 72.

§ Cavendish's Debates.

eventful career, offered a resolution (which prevailed) that the paper should not be received. Upon this, Colonel Barré arose and reminded the House, that he had predicted all that would happen on passing the Stamp Act, and he said that he could now prophesy other and inevitable evils; and with his usual boldness and energy of manner, he plainly told ministers, that, if they persevered in their present course, the whole continent of North America would rise in arms, and those Colonies, perhaps, be lost to England for ever. The events of a few subsequent years produced a fulfilment of this prediction.

These parliamentary proceedings fearfully augmented the excitement, indignation and alarm, which agitated the Colonies; and the most hopeful advocate of conciliation and peaceful measures, now saw little else for the future to develope, but physical resistance. And yet those who most obstinately resisted the oppressions of the home government, still loyally refrained from a resort to arms, and tendered the olive branch of peace while strongly denouncing their oppressors. The Colonial Assemblies reiterated by resolutions, their oft-repeated political postulate, *the exclusive right of the people to tax themselves*, and boldly denied the right of the King to remove the offender out of the country for trial. For these, and similar resolves, the Assemblies of Virginia and North Carolina were dissolved by their respective Governors, who, like the Governor of Massachusetts, were royal favorites.

Governor Bernard demanded of the Massachusetts Assembly to provide funds for the payment of the troops quartered in Boston, but they not only refused to comply with this requisition, but would not transact business at all, while surrounded by soldiery sent to intimidate them. They demanded the withdrawal of the troops, which the Governor objected to; and they at once adjourned to Cambridge,[a] where, after passing some resolutions, which were offensive to the Governor,* the Assembly were dissolved, and their proceedings pronounced illegal, and even treasonable. The King, to testify his approbation, created Governor Bernard a Baronet, and took upon himself the whole expense of passing the patent. He was soon after succeeded in office[b] by Hutchinson, his lieutenant, and returned to England, leaving behind him but few friends, and slight regrets at his departure.

[a] May, 1769.

[b] August.

*They voted, "That the establishment of a standing army in this Colony in time of peace, is an invasion of natural rights; that a standing army is not known as a part of the British Constitution; that sending an armed force into the Colony, under a pretence of assisting the civil authority, is highly dangerous to the people, unprecedented and unconstitutional."

The effects of the non-importation agreements of the Colonies began to be severely felt by the English merchants,* and they added their respectful petitions and remonstrance to the voice of American discontent, and urged ministers to present a bill in Parliament to repeal the obnoxious acts. Lord Hillsborough had, by direction of Lord North, previously written a circular letter to the Colonies, intimating that the duties upon glass, paper, and painters' colors, would be taken off, as contrary to the true principles of commerce—in other words, as inexpedient. But the duty would still be left upon tea, of which the Colonists complained; and moreover, *expediency* and not *principle* being the controlling motive for the proposed repeal, it was considered by the Americans as no concession to them whatever, in point of principle; therefore the letter of Lord Hillsborough failed of producing any tranquillizing effect. The ocean of popular feeling had been lashed into a commotion too fearful to be calmed by such a stinted portion of oil poured upon its angry billows; and the year 1769 closed without any apparent approximation of Great Britain and her American Colonies towards reconciliation.

As before stated, when the Treaty of Paris in 1763 produced peace between Great Britain and France, the American Colonies were enjoying a state of unexampled prosperity; and loyalty to the mother country was a predominant feeling, inculcated by instruction in infancy, and made a fixed principle in youth and maturity. But, in an evil hour, Britain needlessly and heedlessly raised the arm of oppression against her faithful children. The enactment of certain revenue laws aroused their suspicions of impending danger, for they well knew the force and the rapacity of British cupidity. The Sugar Act, re-enacted, and accompanied by a declaration on the part of Parliament of a design to tax the Colonies, engendered from amid the agitations of just alarm, a bold spirit of resistance; and Boston first lifted up the voice of remonstrance and warning. Her remonstrance was unheard, her warning was unheeded, and a more powerful instrument of wrong and oppression was brought into being,—the infamous Stamp Act was framed and became a law. In this act, British tyranny, before obscured by the haze of acknowledged law and musty precedent, assumed a tangible form; and in proportion as its true interest became developed, did the spirit of Colonial opposition increase in strength and fervor, until ministers, discovering their fatal error, repealed the act. Then came the Declaratory Act,

* The exports, which in 1768 had amounted to $11,890,000, of which $660,000 was in tea, had fallen in 1769 to $8,170,000, the tea being only $220,000.—*Murray's U S*, vol. i., p. 352.

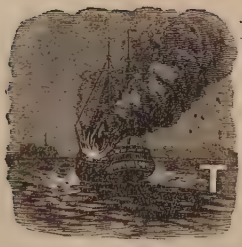
assuming a right to levy taxes upon the Colonies, which they in turn denied. This again aroused Colonial jealousy—the Mutiny Act, and the establishment of a Board of Trade in the Colonies, awakened systematic resistance; and the suspension of the legislative powers of the New York Assembly, until they should furnish certain supplies to the English troops, fanned the flame of open rebellion. Finally, ministers, untaught by the experience of the past, and willing rather to use the strong arm of power, instead of the more potent influence of kindness based upon justice, crowned their career of folly and wickedness by sending English mercenary troops to awe into submission an injured and oppressed people. This act, so unnecessary and unjust, almost severed the last ligament of loyalty that bound the Colonies to the British throne—almost extinguished the last feeble ray of hope for a reconciliation—affiliated in a sacred community of interest the entire thirteen Colonies—and created in the hearts and minds of the American people irrepressible aspirations for SOCIAL FREEDOM AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE.

Faneuil Hall, Boston.

EVENTS FROM 1770 TO 1774.

Samuel Adams—Colonel Barré—Lord North.

CHAPTER III.



THE year 1770 dawned upon America with gloomy portents for the future. Too deeply was the principle of resistance to unjust taxation implanted in the hearts of the people to be easily eradicated; and too surely did the past acts of the British ministry foreshadow an obstinate adherence of the home government to its broad proposition of positive and unqualified right to tax her Colonies, *nolens volens*, to give the people a single ray of hope that that proposition would be abandoned. Hence, reconciliation seemed hardly possible—a resort

to arms seemed inevitable. True, they had been told that the duty upon several articles would be taken off; yet they clearly foresaw the evident intent of continuing it upon one or more, in order to maintain by practice the assumed right to tax the Colonies; and because of this, they determined to resist. Everywhere the spirit of opposition was almost a living principle; nor were patriotic sentiments and action confined to the sterner sex. The warm, impulsive nature of woman was aroused, and directed towards the execution of patriotic behests; and even the children seemed to draw the same impress of character from the mother's breast, and boldly bearded the British lion.* Early in February the females of Boston publicly leagued in a pledge of total abstinence from tea, as a practical execution of the non-importation agreements of their fathers, husbands and brothers. "We are credibly informed," says the Boston Gazette,[a] the leading "rebel newspaper," in the Colonies, "that upwards of one hundred ladies, at the north part of town, have, of their own free will and accord, come into, and signed an agreement, not to drink any tea till the Revenue Acts are repealed." At that date, the mistresses of three hundred families had subscribed to the league; and when it was published the following week, it was accompanied by a declaration of intentions of joining the citizens at large, who had, in January, resolved unanimously, at a meeting in Faneuil Hall, "totally to abstain from the use of tea." The "Young Ladies" very soon afterwards[b] followed this patriotic example, and multitudes subscribed their names to a document in

[a] Feb. 9, 1770.

[b] Feb. 12.

* While the King's troops were in Boston, an incident occurred that evinced the bold spirit of even the little boys. In the winter the boys were in the habit of building little hills of snow, and sliding down them on to the pond on the Common, for amusement. The English soldiers, to provoke them, would often beat down these hills. On one occasion, having rebuilt their hills, and finding on their return from school that they were again demolished by the soldiers, several of the boys determined to wait upon the captain and complain of his soldiers. The captain made light of it, and the soldiers became more troublesome than ever. At last they called a meeting of the larger boys, and sent them to General Gage, the Commander-in-chief. He asked why so many children had called upon him. "We come, sir," said the tallest boy, "to demand satisfaction." "What!" said the General, "have your fathers been teaching you rebellion, and sent you to exhibit it here?" "Nobody sent us, sir," replied the boy, while his eyes flashed and cheek reddened at the imputation of rebellion, "we have never injured nor insulted your troops; but they have trodden down our snow-hills, and broken the ice on our skating-grounds. We complained, and they called us young rebels, and told us to help ourselves if we could. We told the captain of this, and he laughed at us. Yesterday our works were destroyed the third time, and we will bear it no longer." The nobler feelings of the General's heart were awakened, and after gazing upon them in silent admiration for a moment, he turned to an officer by his side, and said, "The very children here draw in a love of liberty with the air they breathe. You may go, my brave boys, and be assured, if my troops trouble you again, they shall be punished."

the following terms :—"We, the daughters of those patriots who have, and do now, appear for the public interest, and in that, principally regard their posterity,—as such do with pleasure engage with them in denying ourselves the drinking of foreign tea, in hopes to frustrate a plan which tends to *deprive the whole community of all that is valuable in life*." Similar movements were made in New York and Virginia among the females ; and so cordial and universal became the opposition to the Revenue Acts, that very few persons had the hardihood to allow their love of gain to be paramount to love of country, and sell and use the proscribed article. Yet there were a few who dared to act in bold defiance of public sentiment, in the importation and sale of tea ; among whom was one Theophilus Lillie, of Boston, who was instrumental in the production of incipient steps towards a popular tumult, exceeding in violence anything preceding it. He, in connexion with three or four others, continued to sell imported goods in defiance of public feeling on this point. Nor did he confine himself to the act of sale solely, but he publicly declared his intention to continue trade, let the non-importation associations do as they pleased. This conduct very much excited the populace, and on the 22d of February they manifested their strong disapprobation by placing a rude wooden head upon a pole near Lillie's door, having upon it the names of the other importers ; and attached a wooden hand thereto, whose finger pointed directly towards the offending tradesman's premises. A mob of noisy boys soon collected, and by their remarks greatly irritated Lillie and his friends, among whom was a rough man named Richardson, who tried to induce a countryman to run his wagon against the pole and prostrate it. He was a patriot and refused ; and in Richardson's attempt to do it himself, he was pelted with dirt and stones, and driven into his house. Much exasperated, he brought out his musket, loaded with swan shot, and discharged it into the crowd, slightly wounding a lad named Christopher Gore (afterwards Governor of the Commonwealth), and mortally wounding another named Snyder. The people were furious at this outrage ; seized Richardson and an associate, named Wilmot, carried them to Faneuil Hall, had them examined, and committed them for trial.*

This event produced a deep sensation throughout the country. The newspapers teemed with the accounts of the funeral of young Snyder, and he was spoken of everywhere as the *first martyr* to the

* Richardson was, at the April assize, found guilty of murder, but the Lieutenant Governor refused to sign his death warrant, and after two years' confinement, he was pardoned by the King.

cause of American Liberty.* His funeral ceremonies were attended in a manner before unexampled. His coffin, covered with inscriptions—"Innocence itself not safe," and similar ones—was placed under Liberty Tree. In the procession to the grave, between four and five hundred school-boys took the lead. Six of Snyder's playfellows supported the coffin. After these came the relatives and nearly fifteen hundred of the inhabitants. The scene was one of deep and abiding impress—it was the initial LIFE of the hecatombs subsequently sacrificed upon the altar of the Moloch of War during the struggle for American Liberty.

On the second of March, a soldier passing by the rope-walk of Mr. John Grey, got into a quarrel with the workmen, and was severely beaten. He repaired to the barracks, and returning with several of his comrades, they in turn beat the rope-makers, and pursued them through the streets. The excitable portion of the inhabitants were soon assembled, but the next day being Saturday, and so near the Sabbath, they deferred vengeance until Monday, the fifth.

Between seven and eight o'clock in the evening of the fifth, about seven hundred of them, armed with clubs and other missiles, proceeded towards King (now State) street, shouting "Let us drive out these rascals! they have no business here—drive them out!" Fresh parties with sticks and clubs reinforced them, and an attack was made in Dock Square, upon some soldiers. In the meanwhile, the fearful cry of "Fire! fire!" echoed through the town, and the alarm bells vehemently rang out their peals of dismay and terror, as if a great conflagration was raging. The whole town presented a scene of tumult and confusion. About nine o'clock, the mob, constantly augmenting, began to tear up the stalls of the market-place in Dock Square, and prepared for an attack upon the soldiers. Two or three leading citizens used every persuasion to induce them to disperse, and had in a measure gained the respectful attention of the populace, when a tall man dressed in a scarlet cloak and with a white wig, suddenly appeared among them, and commenced a most violent harangue against the government officers and the soldiers, and concluded by a loud

* The following curious communication appeared in the Boston Gazette:—

"*Messrs. Eddes and Gill*:—The general sympathy and concern for the murder of the lad by the base and infamous Richardson, on the 23d, will be a sufficient reason for your notifying the public that he will be buried from his house in Frog Lane, opposite to Liberty Tree, on Monday, when all the friends of Liberty may have an opportunity of paying their last respects to the remains of this little Hero and *first martyr to the noble cause*, whose manly spirit (after this accident happened) appeared in his discreet answers to his doctor, and thanks to the clergyman who prayed with him, and the firmness of mind he showed when he first saw his parents, and while he underwent the greatest distress of bodily pain; and with which he met the King of Terrors. A MOURNER."

shout, "To the main guard! to the main guard!" A hundred voices echoed the shout with fearful vehemence. The mob, by a preconcerted movement, then separated into three divisions, taking each a different road towards the quarters of the main guard.

As one of the divisions was passing the custom-house, a boy came up,* and pointing to the sentinel upon duty, cried out, "That's the scoundrel who knocked me down." Instantly about twenty voices cried out, "Let us knock *him* down—down with the bloody-backs! Kill him! kill him!" The sentry loaded his gun, when they began to pelt him with snow-balls, pieces of ice, and every other missile they could find; and with oaths and insulting epithets, dared him to fire. Emboldened by his forbearance to fire, they closed upon him and attempted to drag him into the street. He ran up the steps of the custom-house and begged for admission; but the people within were afraid to open the doors, lest the mob might rush in. He then shouted to the main guard for assistance, which was immediately rendered. Captain Preston, the officer of the day, detailed a corporal and six privates, and sent them to the relief and rescue of the sentry, and the protection of the custom-house. As they approached, they found the mob greatly increased and constantly augmenting in number, and they were pelted by them worse than the sentinel had been.

One of the chief leaders of the mob was a mulatto of herculean size and strength, named Crispin Attucks, who was surrounded by a party of sailors, vociferously shouting, "Let us strike at the root! Let us fall upon the nest! The main guard! the main guard!" The five soldiers sent to the rescue of the sentinel were assailed with every species of foul epithet—they were challenged to fire, and were taunted with the assertion that they dared not fire without the order of the civil magistrate. Meanwhile the soldiers loaded their guns and affixed their bayonets thereto; but the increasing mob, not at all intimidated, pressed so closely upon them, that the foremost were against the points of the bayonets. The soldiers, well knowing the strictness and severity of military discipline and law, refrained from discharging their muskets without orders, stirred not a step from where they were posted, and merely used their weapons to keep off the mob.

* This boy was an apprentice to a barber named Piemont, at whose shop some of the British officers were in the habit of shaving. One of them had come there some months previous to dress by the quarter, whose bill Piemont promised to allow to the boy who shaved him, if he behaved well The quarter had expired, but the money could not be got, although frequently asked for. The last application was made on that evening, and, as the boy alleged, the officer knocked him down in reply to the "dun." The sentry he pointed out as the man that abused him.—*Thatcher*

Thoroughly emboldened by this apparent fear of the soldiers, Attucks and the sailors who were with him gave three loud cheers, pressed close upon the troops, and with clubs beat their bayonets and muskets, and cried out to the rest, "Come on; don't be afraid of 'em, they dare not fire; knock 'em over; kill 'em!" Presently Attucks aimed a blow at Captain Preston, who accompanied the corporal and his guard, and who was using every endeavor to appease the fury of the populace. The blow fell upon the captain's arm and knocked down the musket of one of his men, the bayonet of which was seized by the mulatto. At that moment there was a confused cry proceeding from some persons behind Captain Preston, "Why don't you fire! why don't you fire?" Montgomery, the private whose bayonet was seized by Attucks, and who, in the struggle, was thrown down, soon rose to his feet in possession of his gun, and immediately fired. Attucks fell dead. A few seconds after, another soldier fired, and then, at short intervals, to allow time for reloading, other five men fired one by one from left to right. Three persons were killed, five dangerously wounded, and a few more slightly.* Those who were slightly injured were persons passing by or quiet spectators of the scene. The populace instantly retreated, leaving the three killed on the ground, but soon returned to carry off the bodies.

"On the people's assembling again," says Captain Preston in his written defence, "to take away the dead bodies, the soldiers, supposing them coming to attack them, were making ready to fire again, which I prevented, by striking up their firelocks with my hand. Immediately after, a townsman came and told me that four or five thousand people were assembled in the next street, and had sworn to take my life, and every man's with me; on which I judged it unsafe to remain there longer, and therefore sent the party and sentry to the main guard, where the street is narrow and short; then telling them off into street firings, divided and planted them at each end of the street to secure their rear, expecting an attack, as there was a constant cry of the inhabitants, 'To arms! to arms! turn out with your guns!' and the town drums beating to arms. I ordered my drums to beat to arms, and being soon after joined by the several companies of the twenty-ninth regiment, I formed them as a guard into street firings. The fourteenth regiment also got under arms, but remained at their barracks. I immediately sent a sergeant with a party to Colonel Dalrymple, the commanding officer, to acquaint

* Crispin Attucks, Samuel Gray and James Caldwell, were killed on the spot; Samuel Maverick and Patrick Carr received mortal wounds, of which the former died the next morning, and Carr on Wednesday of the next week.

him with every particular. Several officers going to join the regiment were knocked down by the mob, one very much wounded, and his sword taken from him. The Lieutenant Governor* and Colonel Dalrymple soon after met at the head of the twenty-ninth regiment, and agreed that the regiment should retire to their barracks, and the people to their houses: but I kept the piquet to strengthen the guard. It was with great difficulty that the Lieutenant Governor prevailed on the people to be quiet and retire: at last they all went off except about a hundred."

This tragic scene occurred at midnight—the ground was covered with snow; the air was clear and frosty; and the moon, then in its first quarter, gave but a faint phosphorescent illumination, by which the features of the people were made barely visible to each other. It was indeed a dreadful night for Boston—aye, for the whole country. Foreign soldiery sent to intimidate and oppress a people struggling to be free—a people still loyal, and asking freedom, not at the price of political independence, but the mere concession to them of the prerogatives guaranteed by the Great Charter of England—had spilled the blood of soil-born citizens, whose only offence was a resistance to tyranny. This was the first convulsive throe of that earthquake power of combined moral and physical energy that finally severed the chain of slavery, and dismembered the most powerful empire of the earth. The fifth of March, 1770, was the first dawning of the day of the new political era; and significantly may we parody the words of Cassius, "Remember March, the *calends* of March remember!"

Captain Preston was arrested and committed to prison about three o'clock that morning, and in the course of the forenoon the eight soldiers were also arrested and committed for trial. Early in the morning the "Sons of Liberty"† began to collect in vast bodies. The Lieutenant Governor summoned a Council, and the magistrates and chief citizens met in full assembly and chose a committee of fifteen who were appointed to wait upon the Lieutenant Governor and Colonel Dalrymple, to express to them the sentiments of the town, that it was impossible for the soldiers and inhabitants to live in safety together, and offer their fervent prayer for the immediate removal of the former. Mr. Royal Tyler, one of the committee, assured the Governor that he must not think the demands for the removal of the troops were urged merely by a set of vagabonds and rioters; that people of the best character, men of estate, men of religion, had

* Hutchinson.

† This appropriate name was given to the American patriots (who afterwards assumed it) by General Conway, on the floor of the British House of Commons.

made up their hearts and minds, and had formed their plan for removing the troops out of town by force, if they would not go voluntarily. "The people," said he, "will come in to us from all the neighboring towns; we shall have ten thousand men at our backs; and your troops will probably be destroyed by the people, be it called rebellion or what it may."

The Governor would not agree to accede to the demands of the people, and his answer was so unsatisfactory, that in the afternoon, seven of the first committee (viz., John Hancock, Samuel Adams, William Molineux, William Phillips, Joseph Warren, Joshua Henshaw, and Samuel Pemberton) were again deputed with the following message: "It is the unanimous opinion of this meeting, that the reply made to a vote of the inhabitants presented his Honor, this morning, is by no means satisfactory; and that nothing else will satisfy them than a total and immediate removal of the troops." Samuel Adams acted as chairman of this delegation, and discharged its duties with an ability commensurate to the occasion. Colonel Dalrymple was by the side of Hutchinson, who, at the head of the council, received them. He at first denied that he had power to grant their request. Adams plainly, in few words, proved to him that he had the power by the charter. Hutchinson then consulted with Dalrymple in a whisper, the result of which was a repetition of an offer already made, to remove one of the regiments (the fourteenth) which had had no part in the massacre. At that critical moment, Adams showed the most admirable presence of mind. Seeming not to represent, but to personify, the universal feeling, he stretched forth his arm, as if it were upheld by the strength of thousands, and with unhesitating promptness and dignified firmness replied, "*If the Lieutenant Governor, or Colonel Dalrymple, or both together, have authority to remove one regiment, they have authority to remove two; and nothing short of a total evacuation of the town, by all the regular troops, will satisfy the public mind or preserve the peace of the province.*" The officers, civil and military, were in reality abashed before this plain committee of a democratic assembly. They knew the imminent danger that impended: the very air was filled with the breathings of suppressed indignation. They shrunk, fortunately shrunk, from all the arrogance which they had hitherto maintained. Their reliance on a standing army faltered before the undaunted, irresistible resolution of free, unarmed citizens.*

Hutchinson again consulted his council, and they gave him their

* Snow's History of Boston.

unqualified advice that the troops should be sent out of the town. It was agreed that the Lieutenant Governor, his Council, and the commanding officer, should jointly bear the responsibility of the act; and the latter then pledged his word of honor that the demand of the town should be complied with as soon as practicable; and on the Monday following[a] the troops were all removed to Castle William.*

[a] March 12.

The funeral obsequies of the persons who were shot on the night of the fifth were observed on the eighth, and brought together a larger concourse of people than had ever before convened, on one occasion, in America. Attucks, the mulatto, who had no relatives, and Caldwell, who also was friendless and a stranger, were borne from Faneuil Hall; Maverick, who was only about seventeen years old, from the house of his mother, in Union street, and Gray from the house of his brother, in Royal Exchange lane. The three hearses met in King street, in front of the custom-house, where the massacre occurred, and from thence the procession marched in a column, with platoons six deep, through the main street to the Middle burial ground, and there the four bodies were deposited in one grave. During the procession all the bells of Boston and adjacent towns tolled a solemn knell—a knell whose reverberations were echoed from heart to heart to the remotest settlement, and awakened in each a strong pulsation of determined resistance to British oppression and unmitigated wrong.

After some delay, Captain Preston and eight soldiers were put upon their trial before Judge Lynde, for murder. John Adams, one of the leading patriots, was applied to, to undertake their defence, as their counsellor and advocate in the court. This was indeed a trying situation for Mr. Adams, under all the circumstances. He had taken an active part in all proceedings aiming at the removal of the troops from the town; he had united with the militia as a private, mounting guard and patrolling the streets for the security of the lives and property of the inhabitants; and he was emphatically a man of the people—a people whose feelings had been so outraged by the very men now asking his counsel and defence. Firm in his patriotism, and conscious of his integrity of purpose, he exhibited a manly independence, and at the hazard of losing the favor and esteem of the people, he stepped forward as the advocate of the prisoners, having for his colleague Josiah Quincy, another leading patriot,

* Castle William was on Castle Island, nearly three miles south-east from Boston, and at the entrance of the harbor. It was visited by President Adams, the elder, on the 7th of December, 1799, who then changed its name to Fort Independence.—*Willson.*

whose eloquence had frequently called forth the loudest applause within Faneuil Hall, the "Cradle of American Liberty." After a fair and impartial trial, before a Boston Jury, Captain Preston was adjudged "Not Guilty;" and their verdict also was, that six of the soldiers were not guilty; and that two—Montgomery, who killed Attucks, and Killroy, who was proved to have shot another man—were not guilty of murder, but of manslaughter only. It was admitted on all hands that only seven guns were fired, and there being eight soldiers, there must consequently be one innocent; and the jury chose rather to let the guilty go free, than to condemn and punish one innocent man. This trial, the advocates engaged in it, and the verdict of the jury, under all the circumstances, exhibit to the world an instance of nobleness of feeling and righteousness of purpose unparalleled in history; and form one of those luminous points of the American Revolution which ever appear like culminating stars.

It is a singular coincidence that on the fifth of March, the very day on which the tumult and massacre in Boston took place, Lord North moved for leave to bring in a bill repealing the act imposing duties upon glass, paper, and painters' colors, but still retaining the duty upon tea, for the purpose, as was alleged by the mover, of "saving the national honor" in this extraordinary concession to the Colonies. This movement on the part of the minister was impelled by a petition presented by English merchants, representing that, in consequence of the duties and taxes, the discontent of the Americans, and their combinations to prevent the importation of British goods, their trade had gone to ruin. Lord North, fearing the discontents of America might infect with a similar feeling the commercial classes of England, felt it expedient to introduce his half-and-half resolutions. When they were presented, they met with little favor by either party. Mr. Grenville, the parent of the Stamp Act, argued, as he had done before, that he, at least, had acted systematically; that in imposing the stamp duties, he had reason to think that they would be paid; that the succeeding ministry, in repealing the act, had re-affirmed the right of Parliament to tax the Colonies; that Mr. Charles Townshend, under the next ministry, had laid his duties upon unwise and anti-commercial principles; and that these duties had turned out far more odious to the Colonies than the Stamp Act; that now a partial repeal would not do; that ministers must give up the whole, the duty upon tea, as well as upon the rest, or stand by the whole. A partial repeal, he said, would do no good, nor would the Americans now rest satisfied with anything short of the renunci-

ation by Parliament of the right to tax them in any way, either externally or internally. He declined giving any vote.

Governor Pownall proposed, as an amendment, that the repeal should be extended to all articles, as the only way of quieting the Colonies. Colonel Barré, General Conway, and others, supported this amendment. Lord Barrington and others opposed alike the original motion and the amendment, declaring their conviction that even a total repeal would fail in satisfying the Americans, and that they would never again be obedient to English laws, until reduced to submission by English arms. Pownall's amendment was rejected by a vote of two hundred and four against one hundred and forty-two; and leave was given to bring in Lord North's bill. A subsequent motion, to repeal the duty on tea, was lost.* Lord North's repealing bill, after encountering much opposition in both Houses, and especially in the Lords, was finally carried, and received the royal sanction on the twelfth of April.

In the House of Commons a call was subsequently made for the correspondence with the American Colonies;[a] and a few days afterwards,[b] Mr. Burke moved eight resolutions relating to the Colonial troubles, and censuring the plan, or rather no plan, ministers were pursuing. A sustained call for the previous question cut off all debate, and the resolutions were negatived. Similar resolutions were presented in the House of Lords, by the Duke of Richmond, so altered as to prevent the previous question; but they too were negatived by a majority of sixty against twenty-six, and the subject was dropped for the time.

[a] May 1.
[b] May 9.

When the news arrived of the passage by the British Parliament of Lord North's repealing bill, the Colonists, and particularly the Bostonians, regarded it with very little favor, considering that the retention of the duty upon tea did away with all its merits, their opposition to this, and every other species of taxation, not being because of the *amount*, but the *principle involved in it;* and this principle was as tangible in the imposition of a duty upon a single article, as if imposed upon a hundred different articles of commerce. The New Yorkers in the meanwhile had, to a great extent, violated the non-importation agreements; and in October, at a meeting of Boston merchants, it was resolved to follow the example of New York, and import everything but tea. The Philadelphians also made similar resolves, and that strong measure of coercion, which indeed, through the mercantile interest, had brought about the repeals under consideration, was nearly suspended, much to the chagrin and dis-

* Cavendish's Debates.

appointment of the leading patriots, who justly appreciated the concessions of Great Britain, and regarded them as simply a temporary cessation of oppression, speedily to be renewed when circumstances should seem to render it prudent and expedient.

Notwithstanding this defection of New York and the partial political backsliding of some of the other provinces—notwithstanding trade with Great Britain was again revived, and tranquillity seemed to rest upon the surface of society, there was still visible a deep, resistless under-current of patriotic decision and determination that ere long disturbed the placidity of the scene; and in every direction the surges of social commotion beat heavily and incessantly against the strong barriers of civil and military power. New York was lukewarm, but New England and Virginia had lost none of their wonted zeal. In the latter Colony, the patriots were led by Patrick Henry, the wonderful self-taught orator—the Demosthenes of America; and by Thomas Jefferson, then a young lawyer, who was not only dissatisfied with the aristocratic character of the Constitution of the province, and the dependence of the people upon Great Britain, but was firmly imbued with a sentiment of Freedom which could brook no restraint short of Colonial independence. To them, the "Boston Massacre" was a text of power, and the popular sympathy was strongly aroused for the oppressed and abused Bostonians. Hitherto, there existed but an imperfect bond of social union between these two Colonies, owing to the great difference in their habits and pursuits; but the atrocities of the fifth of March destroyed these antagonisms, and awakened the bitterest expressions of condemnation of the conduct of the British troops and the British ministry.

The House of Burgesses of Virginia adopted an address to the King having the mixed character of a petition and a remonstrance, in which they expressed strong dissatisfaction with Lord North's imperfect repeal act, and at seeing the mother country still madly persisting in the exercise of the assumed undoubted right to tax the Colonies, as exhibited in the retention of a duty upon tea. They criticised the conduct of their Governor, Lord Botetourt, and plainly told his Majesty that no reliance could be placed upon the good will or moderation of those who were sent to rule over them and execute the laws of the home government. In every part of the Colonies men of the first standing and influence were actively engaged in correspondence, by which they kept up a continual interchange of intelligence, and promoted a constant and strong affiliation in sentiment. In various parts of the country, the "May-poles" of former times were christened "Liberty-poles;" travelling agents widely circulated exciting documents among the people, and accompanied

their distribution with harangues—the Houses of Assembly that were opened, were found no less difficult to manage than they had been the preceding year, and were speedily closed by their respective Governors, by prorogation—and the year 1770 drew near its close, witnessing a general feeling of discontent and indignation among the Colonies against the mother country.

During the years 1771 and 1772, no extensive outbursts of public feeling were witnessed at the north; but on the southern frontier of the English domain, the spirit of liberty was at work, and a boldness of opposition to government power, equal to the New England demonstrations, was there manifested. The tyrannical character and practices of Tryon, the Governor of North Carolina, had done much to inflame the zeal of the people in the cause of freedom; and in proportion to their detestation of the Governor, was the boldness of the people in their measures of resistance. Tryon had pursued a course well calculated to excite the jealous alarm of a people vigilant and distrustful. He had made the courts of law instruments of injustice and oppression, and the officers, both military and judicial, by whom he was surrounded and counselled, were men, in most cases, of like character with himself. So insupportable became his rule, that a large number of citizens formed a league,[a] and signed articles of covenant, sealed with an oath or affirmation, whereby they bound themselves perpetually to use all just means in the regulations of public grievances and abuses of power; to pay no more taxes until satisfied that the levying was in accordance with law and equity; to pay no more fees to public officers than the law allowed; to attend meetings of conference as often as necessary and convenient, for the amendment of grievous laws; to choose suitable men for burgesses and vestrymen; to petition the House of Assembly, Governor, Council, King, and Parliament, for redress of grievances; to interchange opinions and intelligence, and enjoy the privileges guaranteed to them by the Constitution; to contribute money for defraying the expenses of the league; and in all cases, to submit to the judgment of the majority of the body. This association of men was termed "The Regulation," or "the Regulators," and in a short time they were spread all over the western counties of the Carolinas, and were potential in keeping alive and augmenting the spirit of resistance to the oppressions of the home government through her executive agents. While the same innate love of liberty, and the same spirit of independence which actuated the intelligent patriots of the north, were the motive impulses of these southern freemen, yet it cannot be denied that acts were committed, under their passive sanction, highly censurable. At the same time there were

[a] April, 1767.

frequent cases of most foul injustice that might palliate, where they could not justify, the violence committed, and the prevailing ignorance of the masses, caused a powerful torrent of misrule, where their passions were aroused. "The most sober and sedate in the community were united in resisting the tyranny of unjust and exorbitant taxes; and had been aroused to a degree of violence and opposition, difficult to manage and hard to quell. And the more restless, and turbulent, and unprincipled parts of society, equally aggrieved and more ungovernable, cast themselves in as a part of the resisting mass of the population, with little to gain but greater license for their unprincipled passions, and little to lose, could they escape confinement and personal punishment."* They so resisted the course of law, that the sheriffs were unable to collect a tax or levy an execution, and in some counties the courts were suspended for a year.

Matters had assumed such a serious aspect—so much like positive rebellion, that in the Spring of 1771, Governor Tryon determined to proceed against the Regulators with an armed force. They had concentrated on the banks of the Alamance river, where, within six miles of them, the Governor's troops encamped on the fourteenth of May. After various attempts at accommodation, the Governor demanded from the Regulators unconditional submission, and gave an hour for consideration. Both parties advanced to within three hundred yards of each other. The Regulators did not expect nor intend to fight, believing that the Governor, seeing their numbers, would grant their demands. Tryon ordered them to disperse within an hour. In the meanwhile, a man by the name of Thompson, who went into the Governor's camp to negotiate, was detained a prisoner, and on his attempting to leave, Tryon seized a gun and shot him dead. This greatly exasperated the Regulators, and they fired on a flag of truce sent out by the Governor. The parties drew nearer and nearer to each other, until at length the Governor gave the word "Fire!" His men hesitated, and the Regulators dared them to fire! "Fire!" cried the Governor, rising in his stirrups, "fire on them or on me;" and immediately the cannon and the small arms were discharged. Nine of the Regulators, and twenty-seven of the militia were killed, and a great number on both sides wounded. Several of the Regulators were taken prisoners, and were most cruelly treated by the Governor. On the evening of the battle he hung an exemplary young man, named James Few,† without even the form of a trial;

* Sketches of North Carolina, p. 54.

† This young man had been severely oppressed by the exactions of Colonel Fanning, the most odious officer in the Colony. To fill the measure of his iniquity and of wrong to young Few, he had violated the person of his intended bride! This drove Few to madness and rebellion.

and not content with this murderous act, he barbarously proceeded to the destruction of the little property which he had accumulated for his parents in their helplessness of old age! A captain Messer was condemned to be hung the next day. His wife, hearing of his captivity and intended fate, came with her oldest child, a lad about ten years of age to intercede for her husband. Her tears had no effect upon the brutal Tryon. While the preparations were making for the execution she lay upon the ground weeping, her face covered with her hands, and her weeping boy by her side. When the fatal moment, as he supposed, had arrived, the boy, stepping up to Tryon, said, "Sir, hang me, and let my father live!" "Who told you to say that?" said the Governor. "Nobody," replied the lad. "And why do you ask that?" said the Governor. "Because," replied the boy, "If you hang my father, my mother will die, and the children will perish!" "Well," said the Governor, really moved by the words of the lad, "your father shall not be hung to-day."* But the respite for poor Messer was brief. He, among others, was exhibited in chains to the people of the villages through which the Governor passed on his way to Hillsborough, and on the nineteenth of June, Messer, with five others, was executed near that town.

For a time the people were awed by these atrocities; but they served to plant still deeper in the hearts of Americans the seeds of hatred of the English; and when at length the signal gun of Freedom on the field of Lexington, proclaimed the severance of the bond of allegiance to the British crown, the people of the extreme south, eagerly and instantly swelled its reverberations with a simultaneous shout *to arms!* and a declaration of political independence.†

One of the most startling events of this period, was the burning of a British armed schooner, lying near Providence, Rhode Island. She was called the Gaspee, and was stationed there for the purpose of sustaining and enforcing the revenue laws. She had become odious to the people of Providence by her outrages upon vessels entering the harbor. She was accustomed to require the Providence vessels to take down their colors when they came into port, and in case of refusal, she would chase them and fire upon them. One day a packet came in and refused to make the customary obeisance to this marine Gesler. The Gaspee, as usual, gave chase, and the packet so manœuvred that she caused the schooner to run aground. A plan was immediately concerted in Providence to destroy her. A volunteer company under Captain Whipple, and several boats with armed men proceeded to the schooner, and about two o'clock in the

* Sketches of North Carolina, p. 62.

† See account of the Mecklenberg Convention, p.

morning succeeded in boarding her. They seized all on board, and after sending the lieutenant commanding and crew, and most of the valuable effects ashore, they set fire to the schooner, and she was burnt with all her stores. A reward of five hundred pounds sterling was offered, and other means employed to discover the perpetrators of the act, but all in vain. A commission was also appointed to try the parties when discovered, but their services were never needed.

Soon after this, news arrrived of a proposition submitted to Parliament by Lord North, to make the Governors and judges of the Colonies quite independent of those they governed, by paying their salaries directly from the national treasury, instead of making them dependent therefor upon the Colonial Assemblies. This proposition was viewed with much disfavor by the Colonies, and, Massachusetts taking the lead, the various Assemblies entered their solemn protests against the proposed measure, justly arguing that these servants, dependent solely upon the crown, would be the pliant instruments of the home government, ready at all times to do the bidding of the King and his Council. The watchful jealousy of the Americans was aroused by this new scheme—their vigilance, which they had already learned to appreciate as the price of liberty, was awakened, and the system of Committees of Correspondence, which proved so powerful an agent in the work of the Revolution, was called into being.

In this movement, Virginia made the first decided step. On the twelfth of March, 1773, Mr. Dabney Carr,* a young and talented member of the Virginia Assembly, proposed, in a series of resolutions, that a Committee of Correspondence should be appointed, and recommended other Colonies to appoint like committees, whose special duty it should be to keep each other continually informed of every movement having a bearing upon the public weal or woe.†

* Mr. Carr was a young man of splendid talents, and a brother-in-law of Mr. Jefferson The plan of corresponding committees as introduced into the House of Burgesses was fixed on in a caucus at the Raleigh tavern; consisting of Messrs. Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee, Dabney Carr, Thomas Jefferson, and two or three others. Mr. Jefferson was first designated to make the resolutions, but declined in favor of Mr. Carr. It is highly probable that the proposition was set on foot by the fertile mind of Mr. Jefferson."—*Arnold's Life of Patrick Henry* (*unpublished*), p. 83.

† The first committee consisted of Peyton Randolph, Robert C. Nicholas, Richard Bland, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton, Patrick Henry, Dabney Carr, Archibald Carey, and Thomas Jefferson.

So nearly simultaneous was this movement in Virginia, with a similar one in Boston, the result there of the suggestions of Samuel Adams and James Warren, that both States contend for the honor. But Virginia seems to have been the first to make a decided public stand in the matter. Some attribute the invention of this system of correspondence to Dr. Franklin.

The effect of the active operations of these Committees of Correspondence, was very soon felt by a more general unanimity of action and sentiment throughout the whole Anglo-American domain. At first, these Committees were confined to the larger cities, but very speedily, every village and hamlet had its auxiliary committee, and the high moral tone evinced by the chiefs, ran through all the gradations, from the polished committees appointed by Colonial Assemblies, to the rustic, yet not the less patriotic, ones of the interior towns, and through these, made its impress upon the whole people. Thus the patriot hearts of America at this crisis beat as with one pulsation, and the public mind was fully prepared to act with promptness and decision when circumstances should call for action.

In the midst of this effervescence, a circumstance occurred which intensely augmented the flame of rebellion burning in the people's hearts, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the more judicious part of the community could restrain them from striking at once a decisive blow for freedom. The centre of this new commotion was Boston, that hot-bed of patriotism. The bad conduct of Hutchinson, the successor of Governor Bernard, had led the Assembly of Massachusetts to pass various resolutions, all having the color of a determination to act independent of the British crown. They had denied the right of Parliament to legislate for the Colonies in *any matters whatsoever;* they had denounced the famous Declaratory Act of 1766 as an arbitrary and unjust assumption of legislative power without their consent; they had charged the British ministry with designing to complete a system of slavery begun in the House of Commons, and executed by the Colonial Governors; and they had accused Hutchinson of connivance with ministers in all the various acts of oppression in which they were concerned. Just at this moment communications from Doctor Franklin, then in England, conveyed to the Colonies alarming intelligence of the real disposition of the King, his ministers, and the Parliament, and enclosing letters addressed by Hutchinson and his deputy, Oliver, to the home government, in which they vilified the leading patriots, advised the adoption of coercive measures, and declared that "there must be an abridgment of what are called English liberties."

These letters were sent by Franklin to Mr. Cushing, the Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly, and at once the whole town was in a violent ferment, which soon spread through the province and to other Colonies. A committee was appointed to wait upon the Governor and demand his acknowledgment of his signature, which he readily did, but declared the letters to be quite private and confidential.

The Assembly then adopted a petition to the home government for the immediate removal of Hutchinson and Oliver. They charged them with betraying their trust and slandering the people under their government by false and malicious representations, and declared them enemies to the Colonies, and as such, they could not be tolerated.

This petition was sent to Dr. Franklin, charged with instructions to present it in person, if possible. This was granted, and Franklin appeared before the Privy Council* with Mr. Dunning, as counsel in the case.[a] Wedderburn, the Solicitor General, was in attendance, and attacked the Doctor with great severity; accusing him of violating the nicest points of honor in clandestinely procuring private letters; and charged him with duplicity and wily intrigue, equalled only "by the bloody African." These taunts Franklin received in silence, and without any apparent emotion, feeling conscious of the purity of his purpose and the righteousness of his acts.† But ministers could not forgive him for thus exposing their probable designs and the real character of Hutchinson, their instrument; and three days after his appearance before the Privy Council, he was dismissed from the lucrative and responsible office of Postmaster General for the Colonies, which he had held for some time.

[a] Jan. 29, 1773.

Copies of the petition and remonstrance, and also of Hutchinson's letters, were printed, and scattered broadcast over the whole country, everywhere arousing the lukewarm to action, and awakening the half-slumbering energies of those who reposed in the false security of a hope of reconciliation.

About this time a new thought upon financial matters made its advent in the brain of Lord North. On account of the pertinacity with which the Colonies adhered to the resolutions not to use tea, that article had greatly accumulated in the warehouses in England, of the East India Company,† occasioning them much loss. Desirous of aiding the Company, then become a strong arm of the empire through its conquests in India, and little foreseeing the mischief it would lead to, the minister offered a resolution to permit them to

* The Privy Council consisted of the Cabinet and thirty-five Peers.

† It is said that on returning to his lodgings that night, he took off the suit of clothes he had worn, and declared he would never wear it again until he should sign the degradation of England and the independence of America. And on the following morning he told a friend that he had never been so sensible of a good conscience before. Franklin was too honorable to divulge the name of the person from whom he received the letters of Hutchinson, and the whole subject remained in mystery. But within the last fifteen years it has been shown that they were put into Franklin's hands by a Dr. Williamson, without suggestion, who procured them by stratagem from the office of the Secretary, Mr. Whateley.

‡ They had upwards of seventeen millions of pounds in store.

export tea to America without paying export duty. Still comparatively blind to the real cause of quarrel between Great Britain and her American Colonies—still unable to appreciate the distinction between principle and expediency, Lord North supposed that the Colonists, thus receiving tea cheaper than the people of old England were procuring it, would be gently and almost imperceptibly manœuvred out of the principle for which they so strongly contended. Strange to say, this resolution—this new measure in the unfortunate catalogue of evil ones that had driven the Americans to the confines of an open rebellion, was passed with scarcely a dissenting voice in Parliament. And it is a singular coincidence (parallel to the simultaneous action of Lord North on repeal, and the troops and civilians in the Boston Massacre, in March, 1770), that on the very day[a] that the minister offered his resolution respecting the exportation of tea, Carr introduced his resolutions in the Virginia Assembly, for organizing Committees of Correspondence. And while the letters of Hutchinson were kindling anew in many hearts the flame of patriotic indignation, and the people were prepared for almost any measure in support of their oft-asserted principle on the subject of taxation, many large ships heavily laden with tea, were out upon the broad Atlantic on their way to America.

[a] March 12, 1773.

Intelligence of the passage of Lord North's resolutions reached the Colonies before any cargoes of tea had arrived; and public meetings had been held, and the consignees threatened with violence if they should receive the tea. In Boston, the consignees, who were particular friends of Governor Hutchinson, refused to comply with the demands of the people, and applied to the Governor for protection, which was promised.

At length two ships* arrived at Boston, heavily laden with the obnoxious article.[a] A public meeting was immediately called of the inhabitants of Boston and the surrounding country, and they passed resolutions similar to those which had been adopted in Philadelphia and Charleston, that the tea which came charged with a duty to be paid in America, should not be landed, but be sent back in the same bottoms. The houses of the consignees, who evinced a determination to have the tea landed, were surrounded by a mob, and the inmates were compelled to fly to Castle William for refuge. On the other hand, the Governor and his Council absolutely refused to permit the ships to depart without landing the tea, and the captains

[a] Nov. 29, 1773.

* Ship Eleanor, Captain James Bruce; and the ship Beaver, Captain Hezekiah Coffin.

consequently were in a sad predicament. The people appointed a guard to patrol day and night, and prevent any of the tea being landed.

The consignees sent letters from Castle William to the people, offering to store the tea till they could receive further instructions. This offer was rejected with disdain. Crowded meetings were held in Faneuil Hall and the Old South Meeting House, and the Committees of Correspondence were faithfully sending information of all that passed to the other Colonies. On the fourteenth of December, at a large meeting held in the Meeting-house, orders were sent to the captains of the vessels to return to England without delay. The Collector of the Port replied to this order that he would not give any clearance until the cargoes were discharged. The captains also stated that they had the positive orders of the Governor to remain, and that they could not pass out of the harbor except under the guns of the fort; and that Admiral Montague had sent two ships of war to guard the harbor entrance.

On the sixteenth another crowded meeting was held in the "Old South," where one party recommended moderate measures; but generally a rather violent spirit was manifested. Mr. Josiah Quincy, jun., spoke out boldly, and warned them that a spirit of firm patriotic decision was now necessary—that a crisis had arrived when the question of freedom or slavery for the Colonies must be settled, and intimated that the settlement must be made by a resort to arms. "The exertions of this day," said he, "will call forth events which will make a very different spirit necessary for our salvation. Whoever supposes that shouts and hosannas will terminate the trials of the day, entertains a childish fancy. We are approaching measures which must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle this country ever saw." These prophetic words were soon fulfilled.

About three o'clock in the afternoon the question was put to the meeting whether they would abide by their former resolutions in respect to the tea; and it was carried in the affirmative without one dissenting voice. They then sent a deputation to the Governor to desire him to give the ships a permit to depart. This the Governor refused, and the deputation reported to the meeting accordingly. A warm discussion ensued, in the midst of which some persons outside clad in the costume of Mohawk Indians, gave a loud war-whoop, which was immediately responded to by one of their number in the front gallery within. It was evident that some violent tumult was brewing, and some of the most judicious persons present moved an adjournment, which was carried. It was now quite dark (six o'clock), and as the people left the church, the disguised men started towards

Destruction of Tea in Boston Harbor. P. 111.

Griffin's wharf, where the two ships before mentioned, and two or three others that had arrived, were lying, shouting, "To Griffin's wharf! Boston Harbor a tea-pot to-night!" Many of the people followed, and when the disguised party reached the wharf, they were joined by a large number of sailors and colored men, who still remembered with bitter hate, the fate of Attucks. They immediately repaired on board of one of the ships, broke open the hatches, hoisted the chests of tea out, broke them in pieces and discharged their contents into the sea. The other vessels were then boarded in the same manner, and so vigorously did these men ply themselves that within the space of three hours, three hundred and forty-two chests of tea were broken up and their contents thrown into the dock. There were only fifteen or twenty men disguised as Indians, and only about one hundred and forty in all, engaged in the work of destruction. Many of them had their faces blackened for fear of discovery, it being a moonlight night; yet a large proportion boldly engaged in the labor regardless of detection. When the work of destruction was over, they all marched in quiet procession through the town; no disorder was attempted, and it was observed, the stillest night ensued that Boston had enjoyed for many months.

This act struck the ministerial party with rage and astonishment; while, as it seemed to be an attack upon private property, many who wished well to the public cause could not fully justify the measure. Yet perhaps the laws of self-preservation might justify the deed, as the exigencies of the times required extraordinary exertions, and every other method had been tried in vain, to avoid this disagreeable alternative. Besides, it was alleged (and doubtless it was true) the people were ready to make ample compensation for all damages sustained, whenever the unconstitutional duty should be taken off, and other grievances radically redressed. But there appeared little prospect that any conciliatory advances would soon be made. The officers of government discovered themselves more vindictive than ever; animosities daily increased, and the spirits of the people were irritated to a degree of alienation, even from their tenderest connexions, where they happened to differ in political opinion.*

In New York and Philadelphia no person could be found that would venture to receive the tea, and the Company's ships which arrived in these ports were obliged to return to England with their cargoes. In Charleston permission was given to land it to be stored, but not for sale. It was there placed in a damp cellar, where it soon perished.

* Mrs. Warren's History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution, vol. i., p. 108.

When the first excitement produced by these bold and revolutionary measures had abated, all parties concerned were desirous of placing the blame on other shoulders than their own. The Bostonians attributed the extremes to which the people had gone in destroying the tea, to the wilful obstinacy of the Governor, and his discovered league with the home government to oppress the Colonies. There is doubtless much truth in this allegation; and, as a general rule, had the Colonial Governors acted with proper courtesy and conciliation of manner towards those they came to govern, there would have been far less cause for discontent. On the other hand, the Governor with truth argued, that if he had complied with every extreme demand of the people, it would have been a virtual abdication of power and authority, and a real surrender of the government into the hands of the populace; thus violating his oath to the crown, and betraying the trust reposed in him by his sovereign. This, however, was a fair argument based upon false premises, assuming that all power was of right vested in the King and Parliament, when in fact it reposed (or ought to have reposed) upon a broader basis,—THE PEOPLE. This truth was then imperfectly developed and seldom taught; and the Colonial Governors, ignorant of the value of such truths, and their practical application, and taught to revere monarchy in all its manifestations from simple pomp to unmitigated tyranny, may, on the grounds of that ignorance and that tuition, be excused for many acts which, to our republican apprehension, appear quite outrageous and unpardonable. There was much in the circumstances connected with the Boston tea commotion to admire—much to condemn, when viewed with the superficial vision of human understanding. Yet who cannot see in this, as in all other movements and counter movements of Freedom and Despotism during the struggle of the Americans in the cause of Liberty, the workings of the mysterious finger of Providence in the development of political and social truths which are now acting as a mighty lever, whose fulcrum is Intellect, in elevating the Race towards its primal sphere? Dull indeed must be the perception that does not recognise in all these events a wonder-working Providence elaborating from partial evil, universal good; and cold indeed must be the heart that does not, when this perception pours in its light, glow with fervid thanksgivings and praises to the Omnipotent Ruler of human destiny, who "doeth all things well."

John Hancock—Edmund Burke—General Conway.

CHAPTER IV.

PARLIAMENT opened on the thirteenth of January, at which time intelligence of the proceedings in Boston during the month previous, had not reached England; and the King alluded very briefly to the American Colonies, in his speech from the throne. On the seventh of March, some weeks after the news of the tea riot had reached the ears of government, the King sent a message to both Houses detailing all the late proceedings had in the New England and other Colonies, and especially the tea commotion in Boston. Accom-

panying his message were a variety of papers, consisting of letters from Governor Hutchinson, Admiral Montague, and the consignees of the tea; the despatches of several Colonial Governors; some of the most inflammable American manifestoes; pamphlets; handbills, &c. After expressing his confidence in the wisdom and patriotism of Parliament, he called upon the legislature to devise means for putting a stop at once to these tumultuous proceedings in America; for the more rigid execution of the laws, and the maintenance of a "just dependence of the Colonies upon the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain."

In the Commons, on the receipt of the message, a motion was made for an address to the throne, "to return thanks for the message and the gracious communication of the American papers, with an assurance that they would not fail to exert every means in their power, of effectually providing for objects so important to the general welfare as maintaining a due execution of the laws, and securing the just dependence of the Colonies upon the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain." This motion, in connexion with the presentation of the message and the American papers, produced a violent excitement in the House of Commons, and made it "as hot as Faneuil Hall or the Old South Meeting House at Boston." The debate was a stormy one; ministers and their supporters charging open rebellion upon the Colonies; and the opposition justly condemning the ill-digested addresses that had been put forth by government, and the pledges that had been given which were never more thought of. To this retrospect, ministers opposed the plea of uselessness in summoning the past from oblivion, and demanded immediate action upon present information from America. They asked whether America was or was not to be any longer considered dependent on Great Britain? how far? in what degree? in what manner? They asserted that it might be a question *whether the Colonies should not be given up;* and they asked for a decision of the important question in order to allow government to take decisive measures; for if the question should be decided in the negative, then ministers would immediately report a plan for reducing the refractory Colonies to submission to the authority of the King and Parliament. The strong national resentment felt towards the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, in consequence of the late and former acts of open hostility to the home government, not only strengthened Lord North's position at the head of the cabinet, but it materially weakened the opposition in the lower House of Parliament; and when the question on the resolution authorizing an address, and also one against acting upon retrospect matters, was taken, there was an immense majority in the

affirmative, and the address was carried without a division. Mr. Bollan, agent for the Council of Massachusetts Bay, immediately presented a petition, asking permission to lay before the House the Acta Regia of Queen Elizabeth and her successors for the security of the Colonists and the perpetual enjoyment of their liberties. The petition was received by the Commons, and it was at once ordered to lie upon the table, without any further notice being taken of it.

With a firm determination to try more rigorous measures to enforce obedience from the Colonies, Lord North moved[a] for leave to bring in a bill to remove the customs, courts of justice, and all government officers, from Boston to Salem. It is generally agreed that this measure was not in consonance with the mild disposition or the better judgment of Lord North; but that he was probably goaded on by others, who reproached him for his concessions to the Colonies. Strange to say, this measure, fraught with so much evil (if pouring oil upon the flame of Colonial discontent and irritation, may be called an evil), like its predecessor, the Stamp Act, nearly ten years before, encountered very little opposition, and elicited scarcely any debate in the House of Commons. Considering the offence of Boston, it was thought to be very lenient. During its progress through the lower House, another petition was presented from Mr. Bollan, the agent of the Council of Massachusetts Bay, desiring to be heard against it; but the House refused to grant the prayer of the petitioner. On the third reading, another petition was presented by the Lord Mayor of London, in the name of several natives and inhabitants of North America, who strongly insisted that it was unreasonable to deprive Boston of its trade, because *some of the people* had committed unlawful acts; that the bill was harsh and unjust, and that its tendency was to alienate the affections of America from the mother country. Lord North justified the measure by asserting that Boston had ever been the centre of tumult whence all disorders in the Colonies emanated; that it was the ringleader in every riot, and set always the example, which others only followed. To inflict a signal penalty upon that city, he thought would strike at the root of the evil; and in justification, he quoted several parallel instances; among others, the execution of Captain Porteus by an Edinburgh mob, in which a whole city was punished for an offence committed by a large portion of its inhabitants. It was proposed, therefore, that the port of Boston should be closed, and no goods allowed to be either shipped or landed. This restrictive measure was to remain in force till the citizens should express a due sense of their error, and make full compensation to the East India Company for the loss of their tea; when the Crown, if it should see sufficient

[a] March 14.

reason, might restore its lost privileges.* Even Colonel Barré, the standing advocate of America, said he approved of this measure for its moderation. Some of the supporters of the ministry used violent language towards the Americans. Mr. Hubert said it was in vain to expect any degree of reasoning from them; they always chose tarring and feathering. Mr. Montague, son of Lord Sandwich, attributed their boldness to the tame counsels, the weak and unmanly conduct of ministers, who allowed themselves to be swayed by a faction seeking popularity by clamor. Mr. Van drew still greater attention, by declaring that the port ought to be knocked about their ears and destroyed, adding the quotation, "delenda est Carthago." Mr. Fuller proposed merely the imposition of a fine; and Mr. Burke, who at this time commenced his series of splendid orations in favor of transatlantic liberty, denounced the scheme as essentially unjust, by confounding the innocent and guilty.† "It is wished, then," said he, "to condemn the accused without a hearing, to punish indiscriminately the innocent with the guilty! You will thus irrevocably alienate the hearts of the Colonies from the mother country. Before the adoption of so violent a measure, the principal merchants of the kingdom should at least be consulted. The bill is unjust, since it bears only upon the city of Boston, whilst it is notorious that all America is in flames; that the cities of Philadelphia, of New York, and all the maritime towns of the continent, have exhibited the same disobedience. You are contending for a matter which the Bostonians will not give up quietly. They cannot, by such means, be made to bow to the authority of ministers; on the contrary, you will find their obstinacy confirmed, and their fury exasperated. The acts of resistance in their city have not been confined to the populace alone; but men of the first rank and opulent fortune in the place have openly countenanced them. One city in proscription, and the rest in rebellion, can never be a remedial measure for general disturbances. Have you considered whether you have troops and ships sufficient to reduce the people of the whole American continent to your devotion? It was the duty of your Governor, and not of men without arms, to suppress the tumults. If this officer has not demanded the proper assistance from the military commanders, why punish the innocent for the fault and the negligence of the officers of the crown? The resistance is general in all parts of America; you must therefore let it govern itself by its own internal policy, or make it subservient to all your laws, by an exertion of all the forces of the kingdom. These par-

* Murray (Ed. Cab. Lib.), vol. i., p. 358.
† History, Debates, &c., vol. vii., p. 69–103.

tial counsels are well suited to irritate, not to subjugate."* Dodswell, Johnstone, Pownall, Fox,† and others, followed briefly; but argument seemed to have no effect, and the bill was agreed to without a division, and almost without debate, properly speaking. In the House of Lords, there was considerable exciting conversation on the subject, but no debate of consequence; and on the twenty-eighth of March it was passed by an almost unanimous vote. On the thirty-first it received the royal assent, and the trade of Boston was annihilated *pro tempore*.

Had ministers stopped here, reconciliation might have been effected; but while the Boston Port Bill was before the Lords, Lord North, in a committee of the whole lower House, brought in a bill "For the better regulating the government in the province of Massachusetts Bay."[a] This bill provided for an alteration in the constitution of that province, as it stood upon the charter of William III., to do away with the popular elections which decided everything in that Colony; to take the executive power out of the hands of the growing democratic party; and to vest the nominations of the members of the Council, of the judges, and of magistrates of all kinds, including the sheriffs, in the Crown, and in some cases, in the King's Governor.

[a] March 28.

Upon this bill, so manifestly hostile to American freedom, there was a warm debate. Barré and Burke opposed it with all their strength of mind and elegance of speech; and very pertinently asked, "What can the Americans believe but that England wishes to despoil them of all liberty, of all franchises; and, by the destruction of their charters, to reduce them to a state of the most abject slavery? . . . . As the Americans are no less ardently attached to liberty than the English themselves, can it ever be hoped they will submit to such exorbitant usurpation? to such portentous resolutions?" Governor Pownall warned ministers that their measures would be resisted, not, perhaps, by force of arms, but the opposition of the whole people. He alluded to the powerful engine of Freedom then in motion, the Committees of Correspondence; and predicted the commotion that the dismissal of Doctor Franklin from the Post Office would create. He assured them that when the news of these harsh measures should reach them, the corresponding committees would at once be in active operation, and through them the whole people would communicate with each other. He predicted a

* Otis's Botta, vol. i., p. 115.

† This was Charles Fox's first appearance in Parliamentary life, and it was a singular beginning. *He objected to the power vested in the British Crown to re-open the port of Boston!* His suggestion was not supported by either party.

Congress and a probable resort to arms. It was opposed also by Charles Fox; but, like the Port Bill, it was carried by an overwhelming majority,—two hundred and thirty-nine against sixty-four. In the upper House it was vehemently denounced by several Lords, and among them Lord Shelburne; but there, too, it was carried by ninety-two against twenty. Eleven Peers signed a protest, in seven long articles.

On the 15th of April, Lord North crowned his acts of folly and oppression, by asking leave for the introduction of a bill, totally subversive of the noblest features in the charter of the Massachusetts Colony. It was entitled, "A bill for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the laws, or for the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England." It provided that, in case any person should be indicted in that province for murder, or any other capital offence, or any indictment for riot, resistance of the magistrate, or impeding the laws of revenue in the smallest degree, he might, at the option of the Governor, or, in his absence, of the Lieutenant Governor, be taken to another Colony, or transported to Great Britain, for trial, a thousand leagues from his friends, and amidst his enemies.

Lord North supported his resolution with his usual ability. "We must show the Americans," said he, "that we will no longer sit quietly under their insults; and also that, even when roused, our measures are not cruel and vindictive, but necessary and efficacious. This is the last act I have to propose in order to perfect the plan; the rest will depend on the vigilance of his Majesty's servants employed there." The motion for leave to introduce the bill was violently opposed by Barré and others. He denounced the "plan" as big with misery, and pregnant with danger to the British empire. "This," said he, "is indeed the most extraordinary resolution that was ever heard in the Parliament of England. It offers new encouragement to military insolence, already so insupportable. . . . . By this law, the Americans are deprived of a right which belongs to every human creature,—that of demanding justice before a tribunal composed of impartial judges. Even Captain Preston, who, in their own city of Boston, had shed the blood of citizens, found among them a fair trial, and equitable judges." The motion for leave to bring in the bill was passed without a division, and on the twenty-first it was introduced, and gave rise to another stormy debate. Alderman Sawbridge asserted that the measure proposed was ridiculous and cruel; that witnesses against the crown could never be brought over to England; that the act was meant to enslave the Americans; and

expressed the ardent hope that the Americans would not admit of the execution of any of these destructive bills, but nobly refuse them all. He said, "If they do not, they are the most abject slaves upon earth, and nothing the minister can do is base enough for them." Pownall loudly predicted a Congress, and perhaps a war. The House was quite thin when the vote was taken; and it was carried, one hundred and twenty-seven to forty-four. In the Lords it was carried, forty-nine to twelve. Eight Peers entered a strong protest against it.

Mr. Rose Fuller, who generally supported ministers, sincerely desiring reconciliation, and wishing to break the severity of the measures about to be put into execution against the Colonies, moved for the repeal of the tea duty,[a] the immediate source of all the evil. His motion was sustained by the eloquence of Burke, but it was negatived by one hundred and eighty-two to forty-nine. On the pronunciation of the decision, Mr. Fuller made use of these remarkable words: "I will now take my leave of the whole plan; you will commence your ruin from this day! I am sorry to say, that not only the House has fallen into this error, but the people approve of the measure. The people, I am sorry to say, are misled. But a short time will prove the evil tendency of this bill. If ever there was a nation rushing headlong to its ruin, it is this."

[a] April 19.

It being near the close of the session, many members had retired into the country; and when the bill was read the third time, and the vote was taken, the number was very small, although the majority was large—one hundred and twenty-seven ayes to twenty-four nays. In the Lords it passed by a majority of forty-three to twelve, and a protest was signed by only eight Peers.

Thus, in rapid succession, did the British ministry introduce into Parliament strong and oppressive measures, avowedly designed as a plan to coerce the American Colonies into tame submission to the power that was daily binding heavy chains upon them. How manifest appears the misunderstanding of the English of the temper of their children beyond the sea; and how futile did these measures prove when the theory was tested by practice! Instead of awing the Americans into submission, they strengthened the strong arm of defiance, and added tenfold fervor to the zeal of patriotism; and the "plan" adopted, instead of meeting the exigencies of the case, not only failed to secure its aim, but was the instrument of incalculable mischief to the British realm.

Immediately after the decision of the questions just noticed, a bill was introduced into the House of Lords, which plainly evinced the fear of the ministry that their coercive measures would drive the Colonies to open rebellion and a resort to arms. It was a bill

"For making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, in North America." It proposed the establishment in Canada of a Legislative Council, invested with all powers, except that of levying taxes. It was provided that its members should be appointed by the Crown, and continue in authority during its pleasure; that Canadian subjects, professing the Catholic faith, might be called to sit in the Council; that the Catholic clergy, with the exception of the regular orders, should be secured in the enjoyment of their possessions, and of their tithes from all those who professed their religion; that the French laws, without jury, should be re-established, preserving, however, the English laws, with trial by jury, in criminal cases. It was also added, in order to furnish the ministers with a larger scope for their designs, that the limits of Canada should be extended, so as to embrace the territory situated between the lakes, and the Ohio and Mississippi rivers.*

This was a liberal concession to the people of Canada, nearly all of whom were French, and but a small portion of them Protestants.† The nobility and clergy had frequently complained of the curtailment of their privileges, and maintained that they were better off under the old French rule previous to 1763, than now. The measure proposed was well calculated to quiet all discontent in Canada, and make the people loyal. By such a result, a place would be secured in the immediate vicinity of the refractory Colonies, where troops and munitions of war might be landed, and an overwhelming force be concentrated, ready at a moment's warning to march into the territory of, and subdue, the rebellious Americans. This was doubtless the ulterior design of the ministry in offering these concessions; and the eagle vision of Colonel Barré plainly perceived it. In the debate on the bill, he remarked, "A very extraordinary indulgence is given to the inhabitants of this province, and one calculated to gain the hearts and affections of these people. To this I cannot object if it is to be applied to good purposes; but if you are about *to raise a Popish army to serve in the Colonies*, from this time all hope of peace in America will be destroyed." The bill met with violent

* Soon after the introduction of this bill, Thomas and John Penn, son and grandson of William Penn, put in a remonstrance against the boundary proposition, as it contemplated an encroachment upon their territory, they being the proprietaries of Pennsylvania, and the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, in Delaware. Burke, also, who was then the agent for New York, contended against the boundary proposition, because it encroached upon the boundary line of that Colony.

† General Carleton, then Governor of Canada, asserted during his examination before Parliament, that there were then in that province only about three hundred and sixty Protestants, besides women and children; while there were one hundred and fifty thousand Roman Catholics.

opposition within and without Parliament, as it was opposed to the religious and national prejudices of the great mass of the English people. It was finally passed by a handsome majority, and on the twenty-first of June became law, by receiving the royal signature. The other laws,—the Boston Port Bill,—the subversion of the Massachusetts charter—and the law authorizing the transportation of criminals to Great Britain for trial, were all received with hearty approbation by the people of England.

While the British Parliament were organizing these strong measures against the Americans, the latter were active in preparing an efficient barrier of defence against the effects of further legislative encroachments. As early as January, the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay resolved that it was incumbent upon the judges of that Colony to determine at once, whether they would receive their salaries direct from the Crown, or depend therefor upon the votes of the Assembly. Chief Justice Oliver replied to these queries, that he should look to the Crown hereafter for his emoluments of office. The Assembly then resolved by a majority of ninety-six to nine, "That Peter Oliver hath, by his conduct, proved himself an enemy to the constitution of this province, and is become justly obnoxious to the good people of it; that he ought to be removed from the office of Chief Justice; and that a remonstrance and petition to the Governor and Council for his immediate removal be prepared." They also resolved to impeach the Chief Justice. The Governor refused to remove him, and declared the acts of the Assembly unconstitutional. This refusal of the Governor was to them presumptive evidence that he too would receive his salary directly from the Crown, and that henceforth, if not removed, he would act perfectly independent of the Colony.

Hutchinson had become so odious to the people of Massachusetts Bay, that had not his recall accompanied the Port Bill and others, no doubt the summary vengeance of an incensed populace would have overtaken him when these oppressive measures went into operation. The Governor himself feared their resentment when he should be stripped of power and unshielded by the broad ægis of majesty, as its representative; and, chagrined by the loss of place, and mortified by the neglect of some, he retired to a small village in the neighborhood of Boston and secluded himself from observation until he embarked for London on the memorable day when, by act of Parliament, the port of Boston was closed.[a] He was succeeded in office by General Gage, who, a few days after the reception of the Port Bill,[b] landed on Long Wharf with part of his family and staff, and without troops. At New York,

[a] June 1.
[b] May 13.

General Gage had distinguished himself by discreet and conciliatory conduct, and he was very courteously received in Boston notwithstanding the popular ferment that was so visible on every side. He was entertained by the magistrates and others at a public dinner, and that evening Hutchinson was burned in effigy. The next day a numerously attended town meeting was held, to take into consideration the Port Bill, and it was resolved, "That it is the opinion of this town, that, if the other Colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importation from, and exportation to, Great Britain, and every part of the West Indies, till the act be repealed, the same will prove the salvation of North America and her liberties; and that the impolicy, injustice, inhumanity and cruelty of the act exceed all our powers of expression; we therefore leave it to the just censure of others, and appeal to God and the world."

A vast number of copies of the act were printed on mourning paper with black lines around it, and they were cried through the country as "the barbarous, cruel, bloody and inhuman murder." In many places the act was burnt with great solemnity in the presence of assembled multitudes.

This act, so cruel and oppressive, inflamed the whole country, and everywhere awakened the most lively sympathy for Boston, the martyr city. The people of Salem, to whose town the Custom House and other offices of government were removed, generously refused to build their prosperity upon the ruins of their sister city; and the inhabitants of Marblehead kindly offered the Bostonians the use of their harbor, wharves and warehouses, free of expense. Throughout the country public meetings were called, and from every point in the Colonies, the people of Boston received words of encouragement, congratulation, sympathy, and unqualified approbation. The pens of the various Committees of Correspondence were active night and day, and every hill and valley, mountain and plain, from Plymouth to Georgia, was traversed by the couriers of these amanuenses of the people's will.

The House of Burgesses of Virginia was in session when the news of the Boston Port Bill arrived, and it was received with the utmost indignation. When the first burst of feeling had subsided, they resolved that the first of June (the day on which the bill was to take effect) should be observed as a "day of fasting, humiliation and prayer, devoutly to implore the Divine interposition in averting the heavy calamity which threatens destruction to our civil rights, and the evils of a civil war; to give us one heart and one mind, firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights; and that the minds of his Majesty and his Parliament may

be inspired from above with wisdom, moderation, and justice, to remove from the loyal people of America all cause of danger from a continued pursuit of measures pregnant with their ruin."

This example was followed in other places, and orators in public halls and ministers of the gospel in the pulpits, pronounced discourses peculiarly adapted to inflame the public mind, and nerve the popular arm in its position of defiance. The expressed sympathy of Virginia for the distress of their sister Colony, was highly offensive to Lord Dunmore, the Governor, and on the following day[a] he dissolved them.* The members withdrew, and reassembled at the Raleigh tavern, to the number of eighty-one, and organized themselves into an association and prepared an address to the people, recommending several measures which the exigencies of the times seemed to call for. Among them was a proposition for a GENERAL CONGRESS of deputies from all the Colonies; and they recommended the Committee of Correspondence to communicate with the chief corresponding committees of other Colonies, on this vital subject. This proposition was eagerly accepted by all the provinces, and preparations were speedily made for the General Congress.†

[a] May 25.

On this, as on several other occasions, a remarkable coincidence of opinion and action between the comparatively widely separated Colonies of Virginia and Massachusetts was exhibited. A similarity of expressed thought and resolution to act, existed simultaneously between them, without a possibility of previous conference. Only six days after the resolutions of the Virginians, recommending a general Congress, were framed, a similar recommendation was made by the patriots of Massachusetts.

Pursuant to the provisions of the Boston Port Bill, General Gage took measures to transfer the government offices, and the place of Assembly of the Representatives, to Salem, on the first of June. On the thirty-first of May, the General Assembly met in Boston for the last time. General Gage, by proclamation, adjourned them until the seventh of June, to meet at Salem. Before adjourning, however, they appointed two Members of the Assembly, Samuel Adams, of Boston, and Mr. Warren, of Plymouth, to act during the interim, as the exigencies of the case might require, and then quietly separated. These two, with a few other chosen spirits, met in secret conference immediately, and on the ensuing evening, several others were intro-

* His speech on the occasion was brief. "Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses:—I have in my hand a paper published by order of your House, conceived in such terms as reflect highly upon his Majesty and the Parliament of Great Britain, which makes it necessary to dissolve you, and you are dissolved accordingly."

† See Appendix, Note iv.

duced, when a discussion of general circumstances connected with the best interests of America, took place. On the third evening of their conference, their plans were matured and ripe for execution. Among these was a plan for a General Congress, to consult on the safety of America; provisions made for supplying funds and munitions of war; and an address to the other Colonies, inviting their co-operation in the measure of a General Congress, proposed. They also prepared resolutions exhorting the people to renounce, as far as possible, the consumption, not only of tea, but of all commodities imported from Great Britain or her Colonies.

When the General Assembly met on the seventh of June, the result of the deliberations of these patriots was boldly laid before that body. The partisans of the Crown were filled with amazement at the boldness with which the paternity of these treasonable measures was avowed by men in that Assembly, of the highest standing and influence ;* and the consummate ability manifested in the elaboration of the scheme. Determined to have a vote of the Assembly on the plan, before the matter should become known to Governor Gage, the patriots had locked the doors, and allowed neither ingress nor egress. One of the members, warmly devoted to the government interest, feigned sudden illness, and he was allowed to depart. He immediately ran to the Governor, and acquainted him with the proceedings in progress. Gage immediately sent his secretary to dissolve the Assembly by proclamation. He found the doors locked, and was refused an entrance. He then read the proclamation of dissolution on the stairs, but it was little heeded by the patriots within, who proceeded to the adoption of their proposed plan of future action, and appointed delegates to the General Congress.

Virginia held her Assembly for the appointment of delegates to Congress on the twenty-sixth of August, at Williamsburg; Maryland at Annapolis; South Carolina at Charleston; Pennsylvania at Philadelphia; Connecticut at New London; Rhode Island at Newport; and before the close of August, a full representation from twelve of the Colonies was elected and furnished with credentials. No province sent less than two, nor more than seven Representatives.

The committee of five appointed by the Massachusetts Assembly, at the head of which was Samuel Adams, prepared a document entitled a "Solemn League and Covenant," in which all the non-importation agreements and all resolutions against commercial intercourse with the mother country, were concentrated. All who felt an attachment to the

* Hancock, Samuel Adams, Cushing, Hawley, Robert T. Payne, Greenleaf, and others of that character.

American cause were called upon to sign it; and the covenanters were required to obligate themselves, in the presence of God, to cease all commerce with England, dating from the last of the ensuing month of August, until the late wicked acts of Parliament should be repealed, and the Massachusetts Colony reinstated in all its rights and privileges; to abstain from the use of any British goods whatsoever; and to avoid all commerce or traffic with those who refused to sign the League. Finally, it was covenanted that those who refused to sign the League, should be held up to public scorn and indignation, by the publication of their names. The articles of the League were transmitted by circulars, to all the other provinces, with invitations to the inhabitants to affix their names thereto. Philadelphia alone, as a city, did not accept the invitation to join in such a measure, preferring to refer the matter to the General Congress, and agreeing to execute faithfully all measures therein agreed upon. As soon as this act of the Assembly committee was known to General Gage, he issued a proclamation denouncing the League as an unlawful combination, hostile and traitorous to the Crown and Parliament, and ordered the magistrates to apprehend and bring to trial, all guilty of signing it. But his proclamation was laughed at; his orders were totally disregarded, and the League was everywhere subscribed to.

On the first of June, at twelve o'clock at noon, the Custom-house at Boston was closed, and the port was shut against every vessel that wished to enter; and on the fourteenth, permission to depart was refused to all that had entered before. To sustain and enforce these harsh measures, General Gage had introduced two regiments of troops into Boston, and they were encamped on the Common. These were soon reinforced by several regiments from Halifax, Quebec, New York and Ireland; and Boston became an immense garrison.

The utter prostration of all business soon produced great distress in the city; but supplies (inadequate to their wants it is true) were sent in from all quarters, not only from the interior towns of that province, but from other Colonies also, and even from the city of London.* The fortitude of the inhabitants under this calamity was great in the extreme. The rich, deprived of their rents, were becoming poor, and the poor, deprived of their privilege of labor, were soon distressed, and thus all classes felt the scourge of the oppressor. General Gage was warned from time to time, that the people would

* The inhabitants of Georgia presented to those of Boston sixty-three barrels of rice, and one hundred and twenty-four pounds sterling in specie. The city of London subscribed thirty thousand pounds sterling for the poor of Boston. From Scoharie, New York, five hundred and twenty-five bushels of wheat were sent

soon resort to arms; but, seeming to rely upon the physical strength of the battalions with which he was surrounded, he disregarded these warnings in a measure, but deemed it prudent to take precautionary steps in contravention of such action by the people. Under the shallow pretext of preventing the desertion of his soldiers, General Gage placed a strong guard upon the narrow isthmus which connects the peninsula on which Boston is situated, with the main land, known as Boston Neck. The people at once saw the real motive of this movement—to prevent the inhabitants from having free access with those of the country, and restraining them from transporting arms from the city to other places in the province. This measure justly alarmed the inhabitants, and those who were disposed to adopt conciliatory measures which the great majority deemed humiliating,* now plainly saw that nothing short of absolute submission to military rule would be accepted by their rulers. Persuaded that war was inevitable, the people at once commenced arming themselves, and daily practised military tactics. On every side was heard the fife and drum, and young and old, fathers and sons, were daily engaged in martial exercises, encouraged at every step by the approbation and aid of the gentler sex. Everything bore the impress of impending War.

In the meanwhile, the civil magistrates had suspended the exercise of their functions, as those newly appointed, had either declined acceptance, or were prevented by popular sentiment and the popular will from acting in their several offices. Nearly all of the thirty-six new counsellors who had been appointed by the Governor, either declined or were forced to resign by the unequivocal demonstrations of public disfavor which they experienced at every turn. The courts of justice were suspended; the attorneys who had issued writs of citation were compelled to ask pardon in the public journals, and promise not to expedite others, until the laws should be revoked and the charters reëstablished. The people rushed in a throng to occupy

* There were a few timid persons of some significance, who were willing at this stage of the controversy to offer conciliatory measures, and they even gave some slight encouragement to General Gage and his government. One hundred and twenty merchants and others, of Boston, signed an address to General Gage, expressing a willingness to pay for the tea destroyed. It is averred that some of the wealthier people of Boston endeavored to raise money to pay the East India Company for the tea, but the attempt failed. There were some others who protested against the course of the Committee of Correspondence, and the action of a large portion of the ministers of the gospel, who, they averred, were unduly exciting the people, and urging them headlong towards ruin. But these movements were productive only of mischief. They made the Colonists more determined, and deluded the English government with the false idea that the most respectable portion of the Colonists were averse to revolution.

the seats of justice, that no room might be left for the judges; when invited to withdraw, they answered that they recognised no other tribunals, and no other magistrates, but such as were established by ancient laws and usage.*

General Gage, witnessing the agitation of the people, their tone of stern defiance, and their warlike preparations, at once commenced fortifying Boston Neck, and seized and removed to head-quarters all the gunpowder and other military stores that were at Charlestown, Cambridge, and some other places. This act greatly exasperated the people. From all quarters of the province the people assembled, and with arms hastened to Cambridge with a design of attacking the troops in Boston. This, however, was prevented by the influence of the more prudent of the leading patriots. An event soon after occurred, which must have convinced General Gage of the unity of the people, their zeal in the cause of freedom, and their competent physical force to maintain their cause. A rumor went forth[a] that the ships of war were cannonading Boston, and the regular troops massacreing the inhabitants without distinction of age or sex.† This news spread like wild-fire throughout Massachusetts and Connecticut, and in less than thirty-six hours, the country was rallied for more than one hundred and seventy miles in extent. From the shores of Long Island to the green hills of Berkshire, "to arms! to arms!" was the universal cry. Instantly, nothing was seen on all sides, but men of all ages cleansing and burnishing their arms, and furnishing themselves with provisions and warlike stores, and preparing for an immediate march; gentlemen of rank and fortune exhorting and encouraging others by their advice and example. The roads were soon crowded with armed men marching for Boston with great rapidity, but without noise or tumult. No boisterous mirth or irregularity of any kind, attended their march, but silent firmness and invincible determination were portrayed in every face.‡ Full thirty thousand men were under arms and speeding towards Boston; nor did they halt until well assured that the report was untrue.

[a] Sept. 3.

On the twenty-third of August, the other two acts of Parliament arrived, the oppressive character of which put an end to every hope or expectation of reconciliation. The people plainly saw the manacles about to be placed upon them, and the violence of determined

* Otis's Botta, vol. i., p. 124.

† It is thought by some that this rumor was set afloat by the patriot chiefs to let the British soldiers perceive that if they should venture to offer the shadow of violence, a signal to the inhabitants of the province would suffice to make them repent of it.

‡ Hinman's Historical Collection from official Records, Files, &c., of the part sustained by Connecticut during the War of the Revolution. Hartford: 1842.

resistance was doubled. The more moderate patriots, and those who had hoped almost against hope for an accommodation, now either joined the active ones, or stood in silent dismay. Many districts, which hitherto had been little more than passive followers of the more active sections, on learning this breach of their chartered rights, burst into a flame of indignation; and Connecticut, which had always pursued a conservative course, joined the others with the greatest ardor. War was now inevitable, and all hearts were yearning for the meeting of the Congress appointed to convene at Philadelphia on the fifth of September.

The people of Boston became so exasperated because of the fortifications going on upon the isthmus, that, without coming to an open rupture with the troops, they threw every impediment in the way of their labor, burning the materials by night, sinking boats laden with bricks, and overturning the wagons that were carrying the timber.

A meeting of delegates from all the neighboring towns was held at the beginning of September, in spite of the Governor's proclamation to the contrary. They resolved, "That no obedience was due to any part of the late acts of Parliament, which ought to be rejected as the attempt of a wicked administration:—That it should be recommended to the collectors of taxes and all other officers, who had public moneys in their hands, to retain the same, and not to make any payment thereof until the civil government of that province should be placed upon its old foundation, or until it should be otherwise ordered by the proposed General Congress:—That the persons who had accepted seats in the Council, by virtue of a mandamus from the King, had acted in direct violation of the duty they owed to their country; and that all of them who did not resign before the twentieth of September should be considered as obstinate and incorrigible enemies to their country:—That the late act, establishing the Roman Catholic religion in Quebec, was dangerous in an extreme degree to the protestant religion, and to the rights and liberties of all America:—That whereas, their enemies had flattered themselves that they should make an easy prey of a numerous and brave people, from a notion that they were unacquainted with military discipline, such persons should be elected in each town as militia officers, as were judged to be of good capacity, and inflexible friends to the rights of the people, while the inhabitants of the towns should use their utmost diligence to acquaint themselves with the art of war, and for that purpose, appear under arms at least once a week:—That they were determined to act on the defensive so long as such conduct might be vindicated by reason, and the principle of self-

preservation, but no longer:—That, as it was understood to be in contemplation by the Governor to apprehend sundry persons, the people were recommended, should such arrests be made, to seize and keep every servant of the present government, until those persons so apprehended should be restored uninjured," &c. They also drew up an address to General Gage, complaining of the fortifications carrying on at Boston Neck, and telling him, that although they had no inclination to commence hostilities, they were nevertheless determined not to submit to any of the late acts of the British Parliament. To this Gage replied, that it was his duty to preserve the peace, to preserve the lives of his soldiers, and to erect such works as should prevent their being surprised; and the cannon placed in battery on Boston Neck would never be used unless to repel hostile proceedings.*

During the latter part of July and the whole month of August, popular commotions, sometimes violent, were witnessed in all parts of the country. Alarmed at the seizure of arms and ammunition at Cambridge, the people in other places took measures to prevent a like occurrence. At Charlestown, they took possession of the magazine. At Portsmouth, New Hampshire, they stormed the fort,† and carried off the powder and artillery. At Newport, Rhode Island, the people did the same, and took possession of forty pieces of cannon which defended the harbor. The more southern Colonies embraced the cause with great fervor. Newbern, in North Carolina, reëchoed all the declarations of Virginia. Governor Bull wrote from Charleston, South Carolina, that the spirit of resistance was violent and universal. The Assembly, he said, though summoned at ten, met at eight o'clock in the morning; on learning which, he hastened to the place, but before he could arrive, five delegates to Congress were elected. At Wilmington, the people determined to send supplies to Boston, "to alleviate her distress, and induce her to maintain with prudence and firmness, the glorious cause in which she at present suffered. From Savannah, Sir James Wright wrote and complained of the "phrensy among the people," and of their lawless proceedings. Virginia, as we have already seen, took, simultaneously with Boston, the foremost step. At a convention held at Williamsburgh, in August, they appointed delegates to the GENERAL CONGRESS, among whom was the immortal Washington. Pennsylvania was firm but moderate. Governor Penn had been solicited in vain, to call an Assembly; the people therefore met in July in convention, at Philadelphia, and appointed Delegates to the General

* Gordon. † Fort William and Mary.

Congress. The meeting drew up instructions* to these delegates, expressing in strong terms their distress at the unhappy differences existing between Great Britain and her American Colonies, and their ardent desire for a reconciliation.† It was also declared that, provided the mother country would renounce the rights of internal legislation and taxation, and consent to the liberation of Boston, they would consider it expedient to satisfy the East India Company, and to grant to his Majesty a certain annual revenue. Mr. Dickenson also wrote to Mr. Otis, and attempted to cool what he considered the intemperate zeal of the patriots of Massachusetts; but Mr. Otis very properly replied, that Pennsylvania, bearing a much lighter burden than they, could not well appreciate their impulsive movements; and he expressed a dread of the prevalence of lukewarmness and timidity, now in the darkest hour of trial, which would inevitably enslave them.‡ New York gave the government greater support than any other Colony. The whole province was comparatively tranquil, although zeal and activity in the cause of freedom were not wanting. The Assembly refused to elect delegates to the General Congress, and they were appointed by town meetings.§

* These were framed by John Dickenson, the author of "Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer."

† It is not easy to determine at what precise date the idea of Independence was first entertained by the principal persons in America. English writers, arguing from the conduct of the Colonists, have commonly charged them with secretly harboring such designs at a very early period. This is not probable. The spirit and form of their institutions, it is true, led them to act frequently as an independent people, and to set up high claims in regard to their rights and privileges; but there is no sufficient evidence to prove that any province, or any number of prominent individuals, entertained serious thoughts of separating entirely from the mother country, till very near the actual commencement of the War of the Revolution.

It was the belief before the meeting of the Congress, particularly of the more cautious and moderate, that petitions to the King and Parliament, by a body of Representatives assembled from all parts of the Colonies, would be respected, and, in the end, procure redress. They, on the contrary, who, like Washington, had no confidence in the success of this measure, looked forward to the probable appeal to arms, but still without any other anticipations, than, by a resolute vindication of their rights, to effect a change in the conduct and policy of the British government, and restore the Colonies to their former condition. It was not till these petitions were rejected with a show of indifference, if not of contempt, that the eyes of all were opened to the necessity of unconditional submission, or united resistance. From that time the word *independence* was boldly pronounced, and soon became a familiar sound to the ears of the whole people.—*Sparks's Life of Washington* (i. vol.), p. 122.

‡ Pitkin, vol. i., p. 274.

§ To show what unanimity of feeling and absence of party was exhibited by the people, the following extract is given:—

"By duly certified polls, taken by proper persons, in seven Wards, it appears that James Duane, John Jay, Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, and John Alsop, Esqs., were elected as delegates for the city and county of New York, to attend the Con-

held at various places in the province. It will be perceived, that, notwithstanding the obstacles thrown in the way by Colonial Governors and the friends of the home government, twelve of the thirteen Colonies appointed delegates to the Congress; an assembly, for the result of the deliberations of which, all hearts beat high with hope—the patriot expectant of vigorous measures of resistance, and the lukewarm and the royalist, equally expectant of reconciliation.

On the fifth of September, the GENERAL CONGRESS met at Philadelphia. They assembled in Carpenter's Hall, Chestnut street, and organized by the appointment of Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, President, and Charles Thomson, Secretary. There were fifty-five delegates appointed, representing twelve of the thirteen Colonies;* and all were present at the organization except those from North Carolina, who did not arrive until the fourteenth of the month. All of them were men of much local and general influence; all well known for their ability and virtues, in their respective provinces, and many of them possessing a popularity as extensive as the Anglo-American domain. They were chiefly men of fortune, and nearly all of them landed proprietors. They had been faithful students of mankind and the history of the race; and not one of them lacked ample knowledge of the great principles which impelled them to form that convocation. And their own sound judgment and discretion, their own purity of purpose and integrity of conduct, were fortified and strengthened by the voice of the people in popular assemblies, embodied in written instructions for the guidance of their Representatives. Such were the men to whose keeping, as instruments of Providence, the destinies of America were for the time intrusted; and it has been well remarked, that men other than such as these—an ignorant, untaught mass like those who have formed the physical elements of other revolutionary movements, without sufficient intellect to guide and control them—could not have conceived, planned, and carried into execution, such a mighty movement, and one so fraught with

gress at Philadelphia, the first day of September next, and at a meeting of the committees of several districts in the county of Westchester, the same gentlemen were appointed to represent that county; also by a letter from Jacob Lansing, jun., chairman in behalf of the committee for Albany, it appears that city and county had adopted the same for their delegates. By another letter it appears that the committees from the several districts in the county of Duchess, had likewise adopted the same, as delegates, to represent that county in Congress, and that committees of other towns approve of them as delegates. By a writing duly attested, it appears, the county of Suffolk, in the Colony of New York, have appointed Colonel William Floyd, to represent them in Congress."—*Credentials of the Delegates from New York.* Journal of the First Continental Congress (Folwell), September 5, 1774.

* See Appendix, Note III.

tangible marks of political wisdom, as the American Revolution. And it is no unmerited panegyric or idle boast to say that there never assembled the same number of men, who, for intellect, sound judgment, discretion, purity and disinterestedness, were superior to those fifty-five representatives of the twelve English States of North America. Pitt, the great English statesman, after reading the various documents which they put forth during the session, gave the following testimonial concerning their wisdom: 'I must declare and avow that in all my reading and study—and it has been my favorite study—I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master states of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress at Philadelphia.'"

"For a long time," says the eloquent Charles Botta, "no spectacle had been offered to the attention of mankind, of so powerful an interest, as this of the present American Congress. It was indeed a novel thing, and, as it were, miraculous, that a nation, hitherto almost unknown to the people of Europe, or only known by the commerce it occasionally exercised in their ports, should, all at once, step forth from this state of oblivion, and, rousing as from a long slumber, should seize the reins to govern itself; that the various parts of this nation, hitherto disjointed, and almost in opposition to each other, should now be united in one body, and moved by a single will; that their long and habitual obedience should be suddenly changed for the intrepid counsels of resistance, and of open defiance to the formidable nation whence they derived their origin and laws."*

To this Assembly, all hearts were turned with the deepest anxiety. It was universally felt that their acts would be the pivot on which the destinies of the Colonies must turn. It was generally believed, that the acts of such a body of men would be treated with regard by the British government, and that their appeals would be carefully listened to and respectfully heeded by ministers; and therefore it was felt that they had the power, either to remove the evils complained of through the medium of conciliation, or to remove them by an appeal to arms. A desire for a reconciliation on honorable terms was wide-spread, although it cannot be doubted that there were many who secretly wished for a state of political independence; but such a sentiment not having been avowed by the voice of public assemblies, it is a fair inference that the General Congress met with a full determination to effect a reconciliation, if possible, with the mother

* Otis's Botta, vol. i., p. 128.

country.* Looking abroad, the Congress saw that a decisive blow for independence would be popular, even among a large portion of the inhabitants of Great Britain, who sympathized with their American brethren; while the people, and even some of the governments of continental Europe, would have rejoiced at the consummation of such an act. France and Spain, the sworn enemies of the English, would gladly have contributed all that definitive treaties would allow, to produce such a result. Although political writers in Europe were beginning to be more liberal, and advocated pretty freely more popular forms of government, yet the encouragement the Americans would have received at that time from continental Europe would have been the offspring of hatred of Great Britain, rather than of good will to the cause of Human Freedom, or an affinity to the avowed principles which actuated the men then in Congress assembled. But the Congress was determined not to present the least foundation for a charge of rushing madly into an unnatural contest, without presenting the olive branch of peace; and it therefore, during its whole session, directed all its functions in a channel calculated to secure rights withheld and principles violated; and that channel was a satisfactory reconciliation, honorable alike to both parties. With these sentiments, and an intense desire for their country's welfare, the Delegates commenced their labors.

On the second day of the session, Congress adopted a resolution, "That the door be kept shut during the time of business, and that the members consider themselves under the strongest obligations of honor, to keep the proceedings secret, until the majority shall direct

* There were some who, from the first, seemed to have a presentiment that reconciliation was out of the question. Among these was Patrick Henry. As early as 1773, he uttered the following prediction. Speaking of Great Britain, he said, "She *will* drive us to extremities; no accommodation *will* take place; hostilities *will soon* commence; and a desperate and bloody touch it will be." This, Mr. Wirt asserts, was said in the presence of Colonel Samuel Overton, who at once asked Mr. Henry if he thought the Colonies sufficiently strong to oppose successfully the fleets and armies of Great Britain? "I will be candid with you," replied Mr. Henry; "I doubt whether we *shall* be able, *alone*, to cope with so powerful a nation; but," continued he, rising from his chair with great animation, "where *is* France? Where is Spain? Where is Holland? the natural enemies of Great Britain. Where will they be all this while? Do you suppose they will stand by, idle and indifferent spectators to the contest? Will Louis XVI. be asleep all this time? Believe me, *no!* When Louis XVI. shall be satisfied by our serious opposition, and our *Declaration of Independence*, that all prospect of a reconciliation *is* gone, then, and not till then, will he furnish us with arms, ammunition and clothing; and not with them only, but he will send his fleets and armies to fight our battles for us; he will form a treaty with us, offensive and defensive, against our unnatural mother. Spain and Holland will join the confederation! Our independence will be established! and we shall take our stand among the nations of the earth!" How literally these predictions were soon fulfilled, the pen of History has already recorded.

them to be made public." The Delegates then proceeded to consider the deplorable state of Boston and the Massachusetts Colony in general; and addressed a letter to General Gage praying him to terminate hostile preparations that inflamed the people and would drive them into a war; to repress military license, and restore a free intercourse between the city and the country. They then adopted, and ordered to be printed, a Declaration of Rights, setting forth that Parliament had of late years undertaken to tax the Colonies; to establish an extraordinary Board of Customs; to extend the jurisdiction of the court of admiralty; to grant salaries to judges, without the concurrence of the Colonial Assemblies; to maintain a standing army in times of peace; to ordain that persons charged with offences affecting the State, should be conveyed to England for trial; to subvert the regulations of the government of Massachusetts Bay, respecting the prosecution of those who should be questioned for acts committed in the execution of the laws, and in opposition to tumults; and, finally, to abolish the English laws in Canada, and to grant extraordinary favor to the Roman Catholics in that province. They pronounced the foregoing acts of Parliament impolitic, unjust, cruel, contrary to the constitution, and dangerous to, and destructive of, American rights. They stated, that this Congress had been convoked because the various Assemblies in the several provinces had been repeatedly dissolved by the Governors, and this was the only means left them to vindicate and secure their rights and liberties. They then enumerated their rights, such as life, liberty and property, and the rights peculiar to English subjects—participation in the legislative council; of being tried by their Peers of the vicinage, and also of peaceably assembling and addressing their petitions to the King. They also protested against keeping a standing army here without the consent of the Colonies, and in conclusion, recapitulated the various acts of Parliament which they deemed violations of these rights.

During the session, Congress adopted a new non-consumption, non-importation, and non-exportation agreement, which was signed by all the members. Also an address of the several Colonies to the people of Great Britain; a memorial to the several Anglo-American Colonies; an address to the inhabitants of the province of Quebec, and a petition to the King.* The petition was sent to the Colonial agents then in England, with instructions to put it into the hands of the King; and with the information that it was their determination

* These important documents, embodying the sentiments and spirit of our revolutionary fathers, are published in full in the Appendix, Note IV. They are carefully copied from the Journals of the First Continental Congress.

to meet again in May, of the ensuing year.* The Congress also addressed letters to the Colonies of St. John's, Nova Scotia, Georgia and the Floridas, inviting their coöperation. A resolution was also adopted declaring that on the arrest of any person in America, in order to transport such person beyond the sea, for trial of offences committed in America, resistance and reprisals should be made. Some of these measures were considered rather bold by a few timid spirits who hoped for a reconciliation, and they were disposed to sign a protest; but the zealous determination of the eastern patriots prevented a step which would have been so inimical to the best interests of the country at that crisis. "I should advise," said Samuel Adams, "persisting in our struggle for liberty, though it was revealed from heaven that nine hundred and ninety-nine were to perish, and only one of a thousand were to survive and retain his liberty! One such freeman must possess more virtue, and enjoy more happiness than a thousand slaves; and let him propagate his like, and transmit to them what he hath so nobly preserved!"

Having finished these various labors, they appointed the tenth of May of the following year for the convocation of another General Congress, provided the grievances of which they complained were not removed, and then adjourned.[a] [a] Oct. 26.

The transactions of the Congress were received with universal favor throughout the Colonies by the people at public meetings, and by the provisional authorities and regular assemblies when convened. The Pennsylvania Assembly was the first to ratify their proceedings, and appoint deputies for the next Congress. The people of Maryland displayed great ardor, and the most influential citizens were proud in being armed for their country's defence. The militia were exercised daily, and were withdrawn from the authority of the Governor and placed under that of the province. New Hampshire and Delaware followed this example; and South Carolina acted with prompt energy in responding cordially to the proceedings of the Congress. The ardor of the people of Massachusetts and Virginia was without bounds, and warlike preparations were seen on every side. In the New England provinces, the ministers of the gospel did signal service in the good cause. Their influence was very great over their flocks, and when from their pulpits they proclaimed that the cause of freedom was the cause of heaven, the sentiment met a sympathetic response in almost every bosom.

New York alone marred the general unanimity of the Colonies. In the city there was much party division, and when the act of Con-

* These agents were Paul Wentworth, Benjamin Franklin, William Bolan, Arthur Lee, Thomas Life, Edmund Burke, and Charles Garth.

gress concerning the regulation of commerce with Great Britain, was laid before them, they refused to adopt it. New York was then, as now, the chief commercial depôt of America; and this fact, connected with the great influence of the large proportion of loyalists* resident in the Colony, caused the non-consumption and non-importation agreement especially, to be unpalatable.

In Massachusetts, another demonstration of the determined will of the people in maintaining their just rights, took place at Salem. Governor Gage had issued writs calling the General Assembly together on the fifth of October, to meet at that place; but, perceiving the firm and decided tone of the General Congress, then still in session, he thought it expedient to countermand the order, and issued a proclamation accordingly. The election, however, had taken place, and the representatives, declaring the proclamation unlawful, met at the time appointed to the number of ninety. They resolved themselves into a provincial Congress, unsanctioned, of course, by the Governor, and elected John Hancock their president. They then adjourned to Concord, where they were joined by others who were not elected, or at least were not present, at their first organization. The first measure of the Congress was to appoint a committee to wait upon Governor Gage with a remonstrance on the subject of the fortifications of the isthmus. To this the Governor replied, that no offensive hostility was contemplated in the erection of those defences, but seeing the warlike spirit, and bitter enmity of the people, he felt it his duty to be prepared for any needful defence. He pronounced their assembly illegal, and in contravention of the charter of the province.

* It was at this time that the appellation of *Tory* was applied to the royalists, and the term *Whig* assumed by the patriots. The origin of the term *Whig* is variously given. Bishop Burnet, in his "*History of his Own Times*," gives the following explanation: "The southwest counties of Scotland have seldom corn enough to serve them round the year; and the northern parts producing more than they need, those in the west come in the summer to buy at Leith the stores that come from the north, and from a word, *whiggam*, used in driving their horses, all that drove were called *whiggamores*, and shorter, the *whiggs*. Now, in that year, after the news came down of Duke Hamilton's defeat, the ministers animated their people to rise and march to Edinburgh, and then came up marching at the head of their parishes, with unheard-of fury, praying and preaching all the way as they came. The Marquis of Argyle and his party came and headed them, they being about six thousand. This was called the Whiggamore's inroad, and ever after that, *all that opposed the court* came, in contempt, to be called Whigg; and from Scotland, the word was brought into England, where it is now one of our unhappy terms of distinction." Subsequently all whose party bias was *democratic*, were called Whigs. The origin of the word *Tory* is not so well attested. The Irish malcontents, half robbers and half insurgents, who harassed the English in Ireland, at the period of the massacre in 1640, were the first to whom this epithet was applied. It was also applied to the court party as a term of reproach.

On the return of the committee, the Congress adjourned to Cambridge, where they proceeded to elaborate a plan for the military defence of the province. They made provision for ammunition* and military stores, which were speedily collected at Concord, the designated depôt. They also made provision for arming the whole province. Twelve thousand of the militia were enrolled under the title of *minute men*, who were to be ready to march to battle at a minute's warning. They sent invitations to Connecticut and Rhode Island to follow their example, and increase their number of minute men to twenty thousand, which request was promptly complied with, and its suggestions as promptly executed. Committees of Safety, of Supplies, &c., were appointed, and two military men, Jedediah Preble and Artemas Ward, who had had considerable experience in the French and Indian wars, were chosen generals of the provincial militia or other troops that might be raised.

These warlike preparations alarmed the friends of government in the vicinity of Boston, and many of them fled into the city for protection; but the stringent measures of the patriots were fast crippling the resources and strength of Governor Gage. It was with the greatest difficulty that he could procure carpenters and masons to erect barracks outside of the city for his troops; and as no supplies of provisions, at all adequate to his wants, could be procured from the country, he was obliged to receive all that he needed, by sea, from distant places. In this state of things, Governor Gage became alarmed, and apprehending that the people of Boston might point his own cannon upon the fortifications against him, he caused a party of sailors to be landed by night from the ships of war in the harbor, to spike all the guns upon one of the town batteries.†

When the Congress adjourned,[a] the whole country had become thoroughly aroused, and there seemed to be no other alternative than quiet submission or a resort to arms. The executive and legislative powers in the Colonies had become completely transposed. The ancient *forms* of government remained, but new laws were enacted, and all authority was taken from the Governors and their Councils, and vested in the provincial Assemblies. All authority on the part of government officers was terminated, and a revolution, bloodless as yet, was already effected, which many hoped might result in permanent independence, or a thorough disenthralment from the oppressions which had driven them to this extreme. They hoped these energetic measures would convince the British

[a] Oct. 26.

* Mills were erected for making gunpowder; manufactories were set up for making arms, and great encouragement was offered for making saltpetre.—*Stedman.*

† Pictorial History of the Reign of George III., vol. i., p. 189.

government of the futility of attempting to coerce the Colonies into an abandonment of their principles so clearly understood and universally avowed, that it would apply itself in earnest to give another direction to American affairs—a direction calculated to insure, through just and liberal measures, permanent loyalty to the British crown.

While these stirring scenes were transpiring in America, Doctor Franklin and the other Colonial agents in England were exceedingly active in moulding the public mind there, as far as they were able, in favor of the cause of the Colonies. Every possible means was used to give a general circulation to the addresses to the people of Great Britain, and to the King, which Congress had adopted ;* and Franklin, assisted by other friends of America (some of them Members of Parliament), traversed all the manufacturing towns of the north of England,† and by personal communications enlightened the inhabitants upon the great question at issue, on which subject they were kept in profound ignorance by their own countrymen, as far as with-

* On the twenty-sixth of October, the day on which Congress adjourned, the following letter of instructions to the Colonial agents in England, written by Mr. Jay, was adopted by Congress :

"PHILADELPHIA, *Oct.* 26, 1774.

"*Gentlemen* :—We give you the strongest proof of our reliance on your zeal and attachment to the happiness of America and the cause of liberty, when we commit the enclosed paper to your care.

"We desire you will deliver the petition into the hands of his Majesty, and after it has been presented, we wish it may be made public through the press, together with the list of grievances. And as we hope for great assistance from the spirit, virtue and justice of the nation, it is our earnest desire, that the most effectual care be taken, as early as possible, to furnish the trading cities and manufacturing towns, throughout the United Kingdom, with our memorial to the people of Great Britain.

"We doubt not but your good sense and discernment will lead you to avail yourselves of every assistance that may be derived from the advice and friendship of all great and good men, who may incline to aid the cause of liberty and mankind.

"The gratitude of America expressed in the enclosed vote of thanks,* we desire may be conveyed to the deserving objects of it, in the manner you think will be most acceptable to them.

"It is proposed, that another Congress be held on the tenth of May next, at this place ; but in the meantime, we beg the favor of you, gentlemen, to transmit to the Speakers of the several Assemblies, the earliest information of the most authentic accounts you can collect, of all such conduct and designs of ministry, or Parliament, as it may concern America to know. We are, with unfeigned esteem and regard, gentlemen," &c., &c.—*Journal of Congress*, 1774.

† The manufacturers of these districts were chiefly dissenters, and viewing the established church somewhat in the light of an oppressor, their loyalty was quite as weak as that of any class of the population.

* *Resolved*, That this Congress, in their own names, and in behalf of all those whom they represent, do present their most grateful acknowledgments to those truly noble, honorable, and patriotic advocates of civil and religious liberty, who have so generously and powerfully, though unsuccessfully, espoused and defended the cause of America both in and out of Parliament.

holding the truth was feasible. At this movement, ministers and their friends became alarmed, and at once applied themselves to the execution of measures to counteract their efforts. The celebrated Adam Smith,* in concert with Wedderburn, the Solicitor General, applied to Doctor Roebuck, an eminent physician of Birmingham, and who was very popular among the manufacturing population, earnestly urging him to follow in the wake of Franklin and others, and if possible, undo the mischief so called, which they had done. Doctor Roebuck complied with their wishes, but how far he succeeded in effecting the desired result, cannot be estimated.

The Parliament which had been dissolved by proclamation, and writs issued for the election of new members on the thirtieth of September, was convened on the thirtieth of November. Although the proceedings of Congress and the approval thereof of all the Colonies were not so verily certified as to be fully understood in Britain at the opening of Parliament, yet sufficient was known to cause the King in his address from the throne to speak of the Colonies as in a state of almost open rebellion. He declared that a daring spirit of resistance and disobedience to law prevailed in Massachusetts Bay, and that unwarrantable attempts had been made to obstruct the commerce of the kingdom by unlawful combinations; and assured Parliament that he had already adopted, and should continue to adopt, decisive measures to accomplish the establishment of subordination in that Colony, as well as in all the others, many of which, he said, were guilty of being abettors of the revolutionists of New England. An address to the King and ministers, in the usual form, was moved, but the opposition endeavored to attach an amendment to it, asking the King to lay before Parliament all letters, orders and instructions, relating to American affairs, as well as all the late intelligence from the Colonies. This amendment Lord North opposed, on the ground that it placed Great Britain in the position of making the first advances towards a reconciliation, which, on account of the many acts of disobedience and violations of law of which the Colonists were guilty, it was their duty first to do. A very warm debate ensued, and the recent acts, bearing heavily upon Massachusetts Bay, were severely censured as unnecessary and cruelly unjust; and the Premier was sarcastically reminded of the beneficial and mighty effects he had predicted from those acts, which, according to his showing, were to "humble that whole continent in the dust, without any further trouble." But the general bitterness of feeling towards America was exhibited when the vote was taken.

* Author of the "Wealth of Nations."

The amendments were rejected; and the resolution to adopt an address passed the House by a majority of two hundred and sixty-four against seventy-three. In the Lords, a similar address was moved, and similar amendments offered, which elicited a very hot debate; and the final result was the same as in the lower House,—the amendments were rejected, and the address carried by a majority of sixty-three to thirteen. Nine Peers of the minority signed a strong protest, which concluded with the following sensible remarks; "Whatever may be the mischievous designs, or the inconsiderate temerity, which leads others to this desperate course, we wish to be known as persons who have ever disapproved of measures so pernicious in their past effects and future tendencies; and who are not in haste, without inquiry and information, to commit ourselves in declarations which may precipitate our country into all the calamities of a civil war."

Franklin and his associates had caused strong but respectful petitions to be sent in from the dissenting manufacturers,* and Doctor Roebuck had also procured some; not, however, without the employment of a great deal of duplicity. The former were referred to an inactive committee, justly stigmatized by Burke a "committee of oblivion;" whilst the counter petitions were all presented at once and acted upon. The vote in the Commons on the address and the amendment to it offered, and the unfair action in the matter of petitions, convinced the Americans that they had as little favor to hope for from the new Parliament, as they had received from the old. They had expected that the New Parliament, in a measure unpledged to ministers, would act with more justice and liberality towards them than the late one had done, and to their convocation and labors they looked with much anxiety; for, coming fresh from the people, and presumed to utter the sentiments of their constituents, it was hoped that those sentiments were friendly and generous. But they were disappointed. The last faint hope of reconciliation faded away, and the people of America began vigorous preparations for

* Strong petitions were also sent in from London, Bristol, Liverpool, Manchester, Norwich, Birmingham, Glasgow, and other cities, in which they glowingly portrayed the great detriment accruing to their business from the state of American affairs, and implored Parliament to reëstablish pacific relations with America. But the prayers of the merchants were as little heeded as those of the manufacturers, and the haughty contempt with which some of the petitions were rejected by the ministerial party can only be accounted for by supposing that the loyal bearing of New York, one of the most prominent of the Colonies, gave them an encouraging hope that the other provinces were on the point of bowing submissively to the authority of the British crown. A petition in favor of the Americans from the Island of Jamaica was even rejected with disdain.

open rebellion. They felt conscious of their purity of purpose, the correctness of their principles, and the unity of their hearts; and, relying upon the assurance that "thrice armed is he who has his quarrel just," they felt competent to do battle, even with the armies and navies of haughty Britain. While they resolved to put forth in all its strength and majesty their whole manhood, they placed their firmest reliance upon that Providence which had thus far been a "cloud by day, and a pillar of fire by night" to them, leading them on from blessing to blessing, to a state of great prosperity, marred only by the iron heel of kingly oppression. Confident that it, like that of Achilles, would prove vulnerable, they boldly bent the bow.

Carpenters' Hall—Philadelphia.

Richard Montgomery—Israel Putnam—James Warren.

CHAPTER V.

URING the recess of Parliament, which was prorogued early in December, far more alarming intelligence than had yet been received, reached ministers from America. Positive information concerning the proceedings of Congress,—the various able documents adopted by that body, and the decided voice of universal approval that was heard from every Colony, told ministers, in terms not to be mistaken, that America was fairly aroused, and resolved to contend, with unbroken front and undaunted spirit, for every prerogative vouchsafed them by the British constitution. On the nineteenth of January, Parliament reassembled, and Lord North laid before both Houses a large mass of

documents received from the Colonial Governors, together with the proceedings of the American Congress in detail.

On the twentieth, the Earl of Chatham (William Pitt) was in his place, quite contrary to the expectations of many, for a report had gone abroad that he had washed his hands of American affairs, and did not intend even to be in London at the opening of the session. But he was there, and opened the proceedings by proposing, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty to desire and beseech that, in order to open the way towards a happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there," and to prevent any fatal catastrophe at Boston, where the people were greatly irritated by the presence and insolence of the troops, "it might please his Majesty to immediately despatch orders to General Gage to remove the force from Boston as soon as the rigors of the season would permit." "I wish, my Lords," said he, "not to lose a day in this urgent, pressing crisis. An hour now lost may produce years of calamity. For my part, I will not desert for a single moment, the conduct of this weighty business; unless nailed to my bed by extremity of sickness, I will give it my unremitted attention. I will knock at the door of this sleeping and confounded ministry, and will rouse them to a sense of their impending danger. When I state the importance of the Colonies to this country, and the magnitude of danger from the present plan of misadministration practised against them, I desire not to be understood to argue for a reciprocity of indulgence between England and America. I contend not for indulgence, but justice to America; and I shall ever contend, that the Americans owe obedience to us in a limited degree." After stating the points on which the supremacy of the mother country was justly predicated, the great orator continued: "Resistance to your acts was necessary as it was just; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of Parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally competent to convince or to enslave your fellow-subjects in America, who feel that tyranny, whether ambitioned by an individual part of the Legislature or the bodies who compose it, is equally intolerable to British subjects." He then drew a picture of the condition of the troops in Boston,* suffering from the inclemencies of winter, insulted by the inhabitants, wasting away with sickness and

* In November of the preceding year, Viscount Barrington, the Secretary of War, advised Lord North to withdraw the troops from Boston, leaving only one regiment at Castle William. He gave it as his opinion that the naval force might be so employed as to reduce the Colonies to submission, without shedding a drop of blood.

pining for action; and finally, after alluding to the wisdom of the late Congress and the approval of their acts by the people, he exclaimed, "I trust it is obvious to your lordships that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain—must be fatal. We shall be forced ultimately to retract; let us retract while we can, not when we must. . . . . To conclude, my Lords, if the ministers thus persevere in misadvising and misleading the King, I will not say that they *can* alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm, that they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not say that the King is betrayed, but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone."*

Chatham was supported by Shelburne, Camden, Rockingham and Richmond. On the other hand, ministers contended that to recede now from their position, after having gone so far, and that too in the face of such bold resistance, would really amount to a complete submission, abdication of government, and loss of all authority. They charged Chatham with the sin of sowing the seeds of division at home and abroad, and reproved him as an abettor of malcontents. When the vote was taken on his motion, it was negatived by sixty-eight to eighteen.

Chatham was not discouraged, but immediately presented a bill containing a plan† for the settlement of the transatlantic troubles. It proposed to renounce the power of taxation, but to call upon Congress to acknowledge the supreme legislative power of Great Britain, and invite them to make a free grant of certain annual revenue, to be employed in meeting the charge on the national debt. This being effected, it proposed an immediate repeal of all the obnoxious acts. Notwithstanding the exalted origin of this bill, and the great consideration due to the opinions of the framer of it, it was treated with a great deal of coldness, and hardly obtained a superficial examination of its merits. The Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State for America, proposed that it should lie upon the table; but this proposition was condemned by other members, and after a warm

* This speech, which was over an hour in length, was one of the best that ever fell from the lips of the great orator. Franklin, in a letter to Earl Stanhope, declared concerning it, that he had "seen in the course of his life, sometimes eloquence without wisdom, and often wisdom without eloquence; but in the present instance, he had seen both united, and both, as he thought, in the highest degree possible."

† This plan was submitted by Chatham to Franklin, before it was offered in Parliament. He stated to Franklin, that, though he had considered the American business thoroughly, in all its parts, he was not so confident of his own judgment, but that he came to set it right by his, "as men set their watches by a regulator."

debate, during which the Earl of Sandwich, a violent partisan of the crown, moved the "rejection of the bill now and for ever," it was negatived by a vote of sixty-one against thirty-two. Such a hurried rejection of a plan so wise and conciliatory, subsequently drew forth the bitter reproaches of Lord Camden. "Obliterate," said he, "the transaction from your records; let not posterity know it." Out of doors, Chatham was much applauded for his plan of pacification. The corporation of the city of London passed him a vote of thanks, and a similar compliment to those colleagues who supported him. Franklin sent forth an address to the people of England, and to his own countrymen, in which he portrayed the wickedness of rejecting this plan of reconciliation, the only one that had been offered for years.

On the twenty-ninth of January, Franklin, Bollan and Lee, presented a petition, praying to be examined at the bar, in support of the demands of the General Congress. Their prayer was denied, on the ground that such permission would look like sanctioning the acts of the Congress, which ministers averred had met in an irregular and illegal manner.

On the second of February, Lord North proposed the first of a series of measures, designed to coerce the Colonies into passive obedience to the King and Parliament. He moved in the Commons, in Committee of the Whole, for an address to the King, thanking him for the presentation of the numerous American documents, affirming that the province of Massachusetts had been, and was, in a state of rebellion, that the House was resolved never to relinquish any part of the sovereign authority; and professing their readiness to listen to petitions and redress grievances, when the subjects were brought before them in a dutiful and constitutional manner. They urged the King to take effectual measures for enforcing obedience to the laws; and then followed the usual resolution to support him with their "lives and fortunes."

When the minister introduced this motion, he intimated that a part of his plan consisted in considerably augmenting the military force in America, and in adopting measures for effectually restraining, in fact actually stopping, the commerce of New England with Great Britain, Ireland and the West Indies, and the fishing on the banks of Newfoundland, until the Colonists should return to their duty. Fox moved an amendment, censuring the ministry and praying for their removal. Dunning denied the existence of rebellion, and was replied to by the eminent Thurlow. The debate was a very stormy one, and Fox's amendment was negatived by a majority of three hundred and four against one hundred and five; and on a second

division, Lord North's motion for an address was carried by a majority of two hundred and ninety-six to one hundred and six in the Commons; and in the upper House, by eighty-seven to twenty-seven; eighteen Peers protesting.*

When the address was reported[a] by the committee appointed to prepare it, there was another warm debate, in which the celebrated John Wilkes took a conspicuous part against the ministers. He declared that a proper resistance to wrong was revolution, not rebellion; and that if success crowned the efforts of the Americans, they might in after time celebrate the revolution of 1775 as the English did that of 1688. "Who can tell," said he, "whether, in consequence of this very day's violent and mad address, the scabbard may not be thrown away by them as well as by us!" Lord Cavendish moved to recommit the address for a modification of its harshness; and other members of the opposition earnestly recommended mildness. But the address, as reported, was carried by a large majority; nearly four to one. The King, in reply to the address, assured Parliament that he would take the most speedy and effectual means to secure obedience to the laws; that he was ready to extend just and reasonable indulgence to any truly repentant Colony; and concluded with an expressed wish, that the disposition which he manifested, would have a good effect upon the temper and conduct of the Americans. He also sent a message to the Commons, informing them that it would be necessary to augment the naval and military forces in America, in order to enable them to act in accordance with the spirit of their address. On the reception of these documents, a violent debate arose; and it was finally voted that two thousand additional seamen and fourteen hundred soldiers, should be sent to America.

[a] Feb. 6.

On the tenth of February, Lord North moved for leave to bring a bill into the House of Commons providing for the destruction of the entire trade of New England,† and their fisheries.‡ In this proposed bill was a clause excepting in the general ban, those individuals who

* Gibbon, the historian, who then had a seat in Parliament, wrote to his friend Sheffield, "We voted an address of lives and fortunes, declaring Massachusetts Bay in a state of rebellion; more troops, but I fear not enough, go to America, to make an army of ten thousand men at Boston; three generals, Howe, Burgoyne and Clinton! In a few days we stop the ports of New England. I cannot write volumes, but I am more and more convinced that, with firmness, all may go well, *yet I sometimes doubt.*"

† These severe restrictions were afterwards extended to all the other Colonies except New York and North Carolina.

‡ About four hundred ships, two thousand fishing shallops, and twenty thousand men were, according to testimony presented to Parliament, then employed in the British Newfoundland fisheries.

should produce a certificate from their respective Governors, certifying their general good conduct and loyalty, and who should acknowledge the supremacy of the British Parliament. Ministers represented this measure as a just and wise punishment of the Americans for their rebellious proceedings, and only a fair retaliation of a similar course which the Congress had adopted. This measure, like the others, awakened a stormy debate, and encountered violent opposition, being pronounced, even by lukewarm men, as cruel and unjust, tyrannical and unnecessary. The motion to bring in the bill was carried by the immense majority of two hundred and sixty-one against eighty-five. In the further progress of the bill, many petitions were presented against it. Among them was one from the merchants of London, representing the great loss they must sustain by thus impoverishing the Colonists;* and another was from the Quakers, in behalf of their brethren of Nantucket, who by such an act, as their chief employment was fishing, would be reduced to a state of actual famine. This latter petition was treated with great respect, and elicited much commiseration.

On the third reading of the bill,[a] an amendatory clause was proposed, excepting articles of food which might be brought coastwise from any port of America. This clause was rejected, and the bill was carried by a majority of one hundred and eighty-eight to fifty-eight. In the House of Lords the amendment to include all the Colonies except New York and North Carolina, was offered. It was carried by a large majority,[b] and the bill, as amended, was adopted by a vote of seventy-three to twenty-one.† The amendment was subsequently withdrawn (a separate bill designed to have the same effect, being presented by Lord North), and on the thirtieth of March, the original bill received the royal signature.

[a] March 8.

[b] March 21.

While this last bill was in transitu through the Houses, Lord North astonished all parties by a motion to introduce a bill[c] intended to be conciliatory, and, as he thought, perfectly consistent with all previous declarations and acts of Parliament.‡

[c] Feb. 20.

* The people of New England were at that time indebted to the merchants of the city of London alone, nearly five millions of dollars.

† Parliamentary Register (1775), pp. 6–99.

‡ The bill or resolution was as follows:—"When the Governor, Council and Assembly, or general court of his Majesty's provinces or Colonies, shall propose to make provision for contributing their proportion to the common defence, to be raised under the authorities of the general court or General Assembly, and disposable by Parliament; and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government and administration of justice; it will be proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his Majesty in Parliament, and for so long as such provision

It proposed that when the proper authorities in any Colony should offer, besides maintaining its own civil government, to raise a certain revenue, and make it disposable by Parliament, it would be proper to forbear imposing any tax, except for the regulation of commerce. At first, both parties were dissatisfied with the resolution—the court or tory party, because of its conciliating character; and the republican, or whig party, because, after all, it would abate but the single grievance of taxation complained of, that it referred all to the future decision of Parliament, and upon no point was it specific. Lord North, much to his own astonishment, found himself midway between contending fires, and in a very unpleasant dilemma. But his usual skill carried him safely through, not, however, without an avowal on his part that one of his chief objects was to divide the malcontents in the colonies; a policy of very questionable honor. Colonel Barré, ever the staunch friend of the Americans, pronounced this motive low, shameful and abominable—an attempt to dissolve that generous union which made the Americans as one man in the defence of the rights of British subjects; and denounced it as a scheme to cause the Colonists to reject the proffered conciliation, and thus draw down tenfold vengeance, having the appearance of justice, on their heads. After a very stormy debate, the friends of the minister saw that the resolution was not so objectionable after all, and united, to a great extent, in its support. The proposition was adopted by a vote of two hundred and seventy-four to eighty-eight.

On the twenty-second of March, Burke, who had very eloquently opposed the proposition of Lord North, presented a series of resolutions, proposing a complete practical concession to the Americans, of all points in dispute, and thus to "restore" as he said, "the former unsuspecting confidence of the Colonies in the mother country, and give permanent satisfaction" to the English people. As might have been expected, his plan was rejected by a large vote—two hundred and seventy to seventy-eight. Five days afterwards, Mr. Hartly presented a conciliatory scheme, similar to the Earl of Chatham's. It was negatived without a division. Several petitions and memorials from the Colonies were offered in the upper House, but were treated with disdain. The mercantile interest of London, smarting severely under the non-intercourse acts, warmly espoused the cause of the Colonies. An address was presented to the King by the Lord Mayor, aldermen and livery of London,[a] in [a] April 10.

shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect of such province or Colony, to levy any duty, tax, or assessment, except for the regulation of commerce, the nett produce of which shall be carried to the account of such province, Colony, or plantation."

which they condemned the late measures against the Americans, and pronounced their resistance justifiable. They received a stern rebuke in reply; and his Majesty expressed astonishment that any subject should be capable of abetting and encouraging such rebellious courses. In truth, the King and the Legislature seemed madly bent on the execution of their plans to enslave the Americans; and they shut their ears to the prayers of petitions, the respectful voice of remonstrance, and the warnings of sound reason.

Whilst Parliament was thus engaged in angry debates upon various measures, nearly all of which were designed to coerce the Americans into submission, energetic and almost universal movements were making on this side of the Atlantic preparative to an appeal to arms, which was now considered inevitable. The provincial Congress of Massachusetts passed a resolution[a] for the purchase of all the munitions of war that could be found, requisite for an army of fifteen thousand men. As these articles could be chiefly found in Boston, it was necessary to employ strategy to procure them, for a guard was constantly on duty upon the isthmus. Cannon balls and muskets were carried out of the city in carts apparently laden with manure; and powder, concealed in the baskets or panniers of the market-women, and cartridges in candle-boxes, were carried through the English posts. At length General Gage, by his sleepless vigilance, discovered these movements, and learning that some brass cannon and field pieces were at Salem, he sent a detachment of troops thither from the Castle to seize them.[b] They landed at Marblehead, but the Americans, equally vigilant, removed their ordnance before the soldiers arrived, and they were obliged to return to the Castle without securing the objects of their expedition. In the meanwhile, intelligence of the King's speech at the opening of Parliament, of the resolutions adopted by that body, declaring the inhabitants of Massachusetts *rebels*, and the other acts of oppression already recorded, reached America, and the sentiment, "to arms! to arms!" thrilled every heart. Concession was out of the question, and all awaited with an anxious impatience for the sound of the war signal. The inhabitants of Boston became greatly alarmed, and many left the city privately, being in daily dread of outrages, for it was evident that only a very small occurrence was necessary to produce a bloody strife between the mutually exasperated people and soldiery.

[a] Feb. 4.

[b] Feb. 26.

Subsequently General Gage received certain information that a considerable quantity of military stores were concealed at Concord, a town about eighteen miles distant from Boston. In the night between the eighteenth and nineteenth of April, he detached some

grenadiers and light infantry of his army, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, with orders to proceed to Concord and destroy the depôt. It is also averred that General Gage commissioned them to seize Samuel Adams and John Hancock, two of the warmest patriots, and (to government) most obnoxious men in the Colony. The Bostonians, learning the departure of the expedition, speedily sent a warning to Adams and Hancock to be on their guard. The Committee of Public Safety, of which Elbridge Gerry was chairman, gave orders to have the ammunition and stores distributed. Doctor Warren, one of the most active patriots in Boston, sent several messengers to arouse the country. Notwithstanding an order of General Gage, that no citizen should leave the town, these messengers succeeded in reaching Lexington, a town on the road to Concord, and divulged the intelligence. On the eighteenth,[a] the people flocked together, the bells were rung, and cannons were fired to give the alarm to the adjacent country. The minute-men and other militia collected in considerable numbers; but, unable to ascertain the true direction of the march of the British soldiers, they dispersed at night.

[a] April.

Colonel Smith, hearing the reports of the cannon, ordered six companies of light infantry to advance towards Lexington as fast as they could run, and secure the bridges. About five o'clock on the morning of the nineteenth, they reached Lexington. The people gave the alarm, and the provincial militia in the vicinity, to the number of seventy, immediately assembled upon the green near the road. Major Pitcairn, who was at the head of the English troops, at once cried out, "Disperse, rebels! lay down your arms and disperse!" The provincials did not obey his imperious command, upon which he sprang from the ranks, discharged a pistol, and brandishing his sword, ordered his soldiers to fire. The soldiers, with loud huzzas, ran up, and some muskets were fired, followed by a general discharge, which killed and wounded quite a number. The infantry were soon reinforced by the grenadiers under Smith, and the whole detachment, driving the militia before them, pushed on to Concord, distant from Lexington about four miles. Their first act was to spike two cannons, and destroy their carriages, and a number of wheels prepared for the use of the artillery. They then threw into the river and wells about five hundred pounds of bullets, and wasted a quantity of flour and provisions. While these outrages were in progress, the provincials were gathering in large numbers from various quarters, and a detachment of the infantry that had been sent to scour the country in the neighborhood of Concord, were obliged to retreat to the main body. As they entered the town, a hot skir-

mish took place, and a considerable number were killed on both sides. Finding themselves in a perilous position, the English troops began a retrograde movement towards Lexington. The whole country was aroused, and wherever the intelligence of the events of the morning were divulged, the people flew to arms. When the British arrived at Lexington, they were greatly exhausted, and must have been totally destroyed by the Americans, but for the timely aid afforded them by Governor Gage. Apprehensive of what actually happened, he despatched a reinforcement of sixteen companies, with some marines and two field pieces, under the command of Lord Percy,* who arrived at Lexington just as the English troops reached there, hotly pursued by the provincials. The fresh royal troops formed a square for the protection of their fatigued companions, wherein the exhausted soldiers laid down to rest. This accomplished, they all proceeded towards Boston, keeping the two field-pieces in the rear to protect them against the provincials, who increased in number every hour, and kept up an incessant fire, front and rear, from behind stone walls and hedges. At sunset, they reached Charlestown, and the next morning entered Boston. During the day the English had sixty-five killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-seven missing. The Americans had fifty killed and thirty-eight wounded.†

Such was the opening scene in the first act of the bloody drama of the American Revolution. The sword was drawn, the scabbard was indeed thrown away, as the patriot Wilkes had intimated it might be, and thenceforth reconciliation was indignantly repelled, and independence sighed for and demanded. The events of that day were fraught with the mightiest results. They were the first labor-pains that attended the birth of a nation, now still in its infancy, but powerful as a youthful Hercules. They formed the first irruption of the chrysalis of old political systems, whence speedily came forth a noble and novel creature, with eagle eye and expansive wings, destined to soar far above the creeping reptiles of monarchy and autocracy that brood amid the debris of old dynasties. They indeed formed the significant prelude to that full diapason whose thundering harmony, drawn forth by the magic touch of the Spirit of Freedom, filled the nations with wonder, and ushered in the New Era so long predicted, and so long hoped for.

The affair at Lexington was highly mortifying to the pride of the British officers and soldiers, and greatly encouraging to the provincial troops and people. The former could hardly endure the thought of

* Lord Percy was the eldest son of the Duke of Northumberland.

† Marshall, vol. ii., pp. 257–60.

being defeated by a "flock of Yankees," as they contemptuously called the Americans; whilst the latter plainly discovered that the famous English troops were not invincible.* From this moment, the English government was practically convicted of the falsity of their boast of American cowardice, and convinced that the struggle must be long and bloody—that rebels were easier crushed by the foot of haughty Peers upon the floor of Parliament, than by the rude heel of War upon their native soil. And the Americans also learned what valor, prompted by pure patriotism, might do; and a confidence of success in the maintenance of their rights animated every heart.

At the time of the battle of Lexington, the provincial Congress of Massachusetts was in session at Watertown, ten miles distant from Boston. When the news of that event reached them, they prepared an address to the English people, giving circumstantial details of the event, and entreating them to interfere and avert the calamities that threatened the Colonies. They also proceeded to the regular organization of an army in the province. They fixed the pay of officers, and passed a resolution to raise, by levy, thirteen thousand six hundred men, and chose Colonel Artemas Ward for their general. They also invited the other New England Colonies to furnish each a proportionate quota, in order to make an aggregate of thirty thousand men, to be placed under the command of General Thomas, an officer of great experience. Connecticut immediately despatched a large corps, commanded by Colonel Putnam, an old and experienced officer, who had served in both of the last Colonial wars. The other Colonies were equally prompt, and within a few days after the affair at Lexington, the thirty thousand militia were enrolled. So great and universal was the ardor of the Americans, that the generals were obliged to send many thousand volunteers back to their homes. The provincial Congress issued a large sum in paper currency, for the pay of the troops, for the redemption of which the faith of the province was pledged.

* Strong efforts were made by each party to prove the other the aggressor at Lexington. The English assert that when the Americans were quietly ordered by Major Pitcairn to leave the green, they did disperse, but in so doing, fired several shots, wounding one of the men, and also Pitcairn's horse in several places. This provocation, English authors assert, caused the order of Pitcairn to fire On the other hand, it is clearly proven by numerous affidavits which were presented to Congress at its session in May following, that the attack was first made by Pitcairn, as we have stated. English authors assert, that cruelties, paralleled only by their savage neighbors, were perpetrated upon the prisoners in the hands of the provincials. But it is proven beyond cavil or doubt, that the Americans treated the prisoners with great humanity, and even sent word to General Gage that he was at liberty to send surgeons to attend the wounded in their hands.

Blockade of Boston. Universal Approval of the measure by the Colonies.

Preparations were immediately made to blockade Boston, and twenty thousand men put themselves in cantonments and formed a line nearly twenty miles in extent, with the left leaning on the river Mystic, and the right on the town of Roxbury, thus enclosing Boston. Generals Ward, Preble,* Heath, Prescott, Putnam and Thomas, were the officers put in command of the blockading army. Their head-quarters was at Cambridge; and Putnam and Thomas, the former at Cambridge, and the latter at Roxbury, took their stations so on the right wing of the army, that they effectually cut off the British garrison from all communication with the adjacent country, by the isthmus.

On the fifth of May, the provincial Congress formally declared General Gage, by the late transactions, utterly disqualified from acting as Governor, or in any other official capacity, and that no obedience was due to him; but, on the contrary, he was to be considered an "inveterate enemy." The blockading force was continually augmenting, and ammunition and artillery were daily added to their supplies. Within a few days after the formation of their extended line, they were strengthened by sixteen field-pieces, four brass guns of a small size, a few large iron cannon taken out of merchant vessels, and two or three mortars and howitzers.

Such was the state of affairs in the Colonies, when Lord North's "conciliatory propositions," so called, arrived—propositions which received, as they deserved, the scorn and contempt of the Americans. The gossamer web was too thin to cover even the minutest ill motive; and instead of soothing, it exasperated the feelings of the Americans. Nothing short of absolute and unconditional concession to their righteous demands would now satisfy them, for they had learned, by sad experience, to view the British ministry as a willing instrument of oppression.

The bloodshed at Lexington filled the Colonies with horror and indignation; and the vigorous measures of New England, in besieging the British troops in Boston, were universally commended. New York, which had hitherto been more loyal than any other province, now resolved to make common cause with the other Colonies, and at a meeting of the inhabitants of the city, they adopted the resolutions of the general Congress of the preceding year. They also seized the military stores, and many of the women and children were removed out of the way of danger, as vigorous preparations for war were made.

* Preble, according to Gordon, was unable to attend on account of ill health, and Ward and Putnam were the real acting officers.

In New Jersey, when the news of the affair at Lexington reached them, the people took possession of the provincial treasure, out of which to pay the troops that were immediately levied. In Maryland, the people seized all the ammunition and military stores, among which were fifteen hundred muskets. They also issued an interdict against all commerce with the British army and fleet at Boston, determined to withhold all supply of food.*

In South Carolina, the rigorous acts of Parliament were received upon the same day that the battle of Lexington occurred, which called forth strong measures, and prepared their minds to engage eagerly in the general coalition which succeeded that event. When the news of the battle arrived, the inhabitants rushed to the arsenal, seized all the arms, and placed them in the hands of the soldiers in the pay of the province. A provincial Congress was convoked, and the delegates entered into a solemn league for the defence of the country. They also (as well as Massachusetts) emitted bills of credit, which the people received with alacrity.

In North Carolina, Governor Martin had, in April, endeavored to prevent the assembling of a provincial Congress at Newbern; but it did assemble, approved of the measures of the late General Congress, and passed strong resolutions of disapprobation of the conduct of the Governor. Committees of Safety were appointed, and these were called to assemble on the nineteenth of May at Charlotte court-house, in Mecklenburg county. Between twenty and thirty of these representatives of the people met on the appointed day,† and after the business of the convention was arranged it was resolved to read the proceedings at the court-house door, in the presence of the multitude. Proclamation was made, and Colonel Thomas Polk read a series of resolutions, in which the people of Mecklenburg declared a dissolution of the bonds that united them to Great Britain; proclaimed themselves free and independent, and took measures to organize a sort of temporary provincial government.‡ The resolu-

* The scarcity in Boston became extreme. The garrison, as well as the inhabitants, were reduced to salt provisions. Many who were accustomed to live in elegant style found themselves deprived of even the necessaries of life. The Governor, apprehensive of famine, began to issue passports, particularly to women, and those whose presence was a burden rather than an aid.

† While the Convention was in session the news of the battle of Lexington arrived.

‡ These resolutions, embodying a DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, and the first adopted by any assemblage of people in America, are too important, considered in their ultimate effect, to be passed by, by giving merely the substance. Doubtless other spontaneous movements of the people at that dark and trying hour, having equally important bearings upon passing events were made, but like this, they were entirely eclipsed by the general blaze of glory that haloes the Declaration of Inde-

tions were heartily approved of, and at the call of the people, they were read again and again, during the day. Copies of them were immediately forwarded to the Continental Congress then in session at Philadelphia, and also to the Provincial Congress convened in Hillsborough on the twentieth of August, but these respective bodies took no present action in the premises, deeming the declaration premature, as every hope of reconciliation with the mother country had not yet departed.*

pendence made by the Continental Congress of 1776. Subjoined are the declaratory resolutions entire. The resolutions were drawn up by Dr. Ephraim Brevard, chairman of a committee appointed for the purpose. They are copied from *Foote's Sketches of North Carolina*:—

"THE MECKLENBURG DECLARATION.

"'Resolved, 1st. That whosoever directly or indirectly abetted, or in any way, form, or manner, countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this country, to America, and to the inherent and unalienable rights of man.

"'Resolved, 2d. That we, the citizens of Mecklenburg county, do hereby dissolve the political bonds which have connected us with the mother country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown, and abjure all political connexion, contract, or association with that nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the blood of American Patriots at Lexington.

"'Resolved, 3d. That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people; are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power, other than that of our God, and the General Government of the Congress;—to the maintenance of which independence, we solemnly pledge to each other, our mutual coöperation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

"'Resolved, 4th. That as we acknowledge the existence and control of no law, nor legal office, civil or military, within this county, we do hereby ordain and adopt, as a rule of life, all, each, and every of our former laws; wherein, nevertheless, the crown of Great Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities, or authority therein.

"'Resolved, 5th. That it is further decreed, that all, each, and every military officer in this county is hereby retained in his former command and authority, he acting conformably to these regulations. And that every member present of this delegation shall henceforth be a civil officer, viz.: a Justice of the Peace, in the character of a committee man, to issue process, hear and determine all matters of controversy, according to said adopted laws; and to preserve peace, union, and harmony in said county; and to use every exertion to spread the love of country and fire of freedom throughout America, until a general organized government be established in this province.'"

* The papers of the Convention were preserved by the Secretary, John McKnitt Alexander, till the year 1800, when they were destroyed, with his dwelling, by fire. He had previously given copies to different individuals, among them General Davie, of North Carolina, which copy is now (1847) in the hands of Governor Graham, the present chief magistrate of that State. Doubts having been expressed concerning the truth of the alleged Mecklenburg Convention and its proceedings, the author of this work wrote to Gov. Graham, making inquiry touching his possession, and the authenticity of, the copy of those proceedings, alleged to be in his custody.

On the thirtieth of May, at a meeting at the same place, a second Declaration of Independence was made, and articles for the preservation of the peace were adopted, and from that time forth, the people of that province were, de facto, *free and independent.*

The Provincial Congress of Virginia convened in March, and, by a series of resolutions, recommended a levy of volunteer troops in each county, for the better defence of the country. This bold measure was the proposition of Patrick Henry. He had long witnessed with impatience the temporizing spirit of too many of the delegates, and, as he clearly saw that a crisis had arrived, he determined to urge energetic measures. On the introduction of his resolutions, the House was filled with consternation, and like his Stamp Act resolutions ten years before, they were opposed as rash and premature, by some of the best patriots. But Henry met all their objections with so much ability, that the resolutions were adopted by a large majority. Referring to the gracious manner with which the King had received their petition, he exclaimed :—"Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed by a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled, that force must be called in to win us back to our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, Sir! These are the implements of war and subjugation; the last arguments to which Kings resort. I ask, gentlemen, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Has Great Britain any enemy in this quarter of the world, to call for all this accumulation of armies and navies? No, Sir, she has none. They are meant for us; they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging. And what have we to oppose them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying argument for the last ten years. . . . . We have petitioned; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne. In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of reconciliation. *There is no longer any room for hope.* If we wish to be free; if we wish to preserve inviolate those

He politely answered in the affirmative; and they will appear among the State papers which the Legislature of that State has authorized him to collect.

inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending; if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained, we must fight! I repeat it, Sir, we must fight! An appeal to arms and to the God of hosts, is all that is left us.

"They tell us, Sir, that we are weak—unable to cope with so formidable an enemy. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be next week, or next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be stationed in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, and hugging the delusive phantom of hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot? Sir, we are *not* weak, if we make a proper use of those means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people, armed in the holy cause of Liberty and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us. Besides, Sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God who presides over the destinies of nations, and who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, Sir, is not to the strong alone; it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. And again, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest.* There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! *The war is inevitable!* and let it come!! I repeat it, Sir, *let it come!!!* It is vain, Sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace—but there is no peace! The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! † Our brethren are already in the field! What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take, but as for me," he cried, with both arms extended aloft; his brow knit; every feature marked with the resolute purpose of his soul; and with his voice swelled to its loudest note, "GIVE ME LIBETY OR GIVE ME DEATH!!!"

* The boldness of Mr. Henry, and the great influence which he exerted, caused him to be presented to the British government in a bill of attainder. His name, with that of Thomas Jefferson, Peyton Randolph, John Adams, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and several others, were on that black list.

† This prediction was speedily fulfilled; for almost "the next gale from the north" conveyed the boom of the signal-gun of Freedom at Lexington.

He took his seat. No murmur of applause was heard. The effect was too deep. After the trance of a moment, several members started from their seats. The cry *to arms* seemed to quiver on every lip and gleam from every eye. Richard Henry Lee arose and supported Mr. Henry with his usual spirit and elegance, but his melody was lost amid the agitations of that ocean which the master-spirit of the storm had lifted on high. That supernatural voice still sounded in their ears, and shivered along their arteries. They heard in every pause the cry of *Liberty or Death.* They became impatient of speech—their souls were on fire for action.*

Thus it will be perceived that the people in all parts of the Colonies were impressed with the idea of the inevitable occurrence of War; and various expeditions were planned. Among these was one for seizing the important fortress of Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain, the key to the northern entrance into Canada. Colonel Ethan Allen was the chief projector of this expedition, and, early in May, accompanied by Colonels Easton, Browne and Warner, and Capt. Dickenson, with a number of volunteers from Connecticut and Vermont,† they proceeded towards Castleton. About the same time Benedict Arnold, a native of Norwich, Connecticut, and Captain in the provincial army, also conceived the plan of seizing Ticonderoga, and such confidence had the Massachusetts Committee of Safety in his bravery and judgment, that they gave him the rank of Colonel, with authority to levy troops for the expedition. Having collected a sufficient number, he proceeded, and at Castleton he overtook Allen, who, much to his surprise, had anticipated him. He immediately put himself under Allen's command, and they proceeded on their march.

The officer in command at Ticonderoga, was Captain La Place, an old friend of Allen. Precautions were taken to prevent their approach being known. They arrived at night on the banks of the lake opposite Ticonderoga, and there Allen found a boy who volunteered to be their guide across the lake and to the fort.‡ With only eighty-three men, they approached the fortress in the grey of the early morning, entered by the covered way, and having reached the esplanade, raised a tremendous shout, which aroused the sleeping garrison. Supposing the number of invaders to be far greater than it actually was, the soldiers were paralysed, and offered but a feeble resistance. The boy conducted Allen to the door of La Place's bed-chamber, who at that moment appeared, half dressed, and de-

* Wirt. † These styled themselves "Green Mountain Boys."

‡ His name was Nathan Beman. He died in December, 1846, in Franklin county, New York, at the age of ninety years. He lived to see the Union increase from *thirteen* to *thirty* States! and from *three* millions of people to *twenty* millions.

manded the cause of the tumult. The rough and well-known voice of Allen bade him surrender the fort. "By what authority do you make the demand?" asked La Place. "By the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress!" thundered Allen. The commander found it was useless to parley, and at once surrendered.*

They secured one hundred and twenty pieces of twenty-four pound brass cannon, several howitzers, balls, bombs, and ammunition. A party was immediately sent to seize the fort at Crown Point, which was easily effected, and more than a hundred pieces of artillery were secured there.

They next armed a schooner, which, under the command of Colonel Arnold, captured a corvette of war, which the English kept anchored at St. John's, at the head of the lake. They then proceeded to Skeensborough (now Whitehall), and successfully stormed and captured the fort, by which they came in possession of a large quantity of light artillery. This series of brilliant exploits put the Americans in complete possession of the lake and the chief route to Canada; and inspired the Colonists with the greatest joy and hope for the future. The different fortresses were garrisoned; and leaving the whole under the command of Arnold, Allen returned to Connecticut.

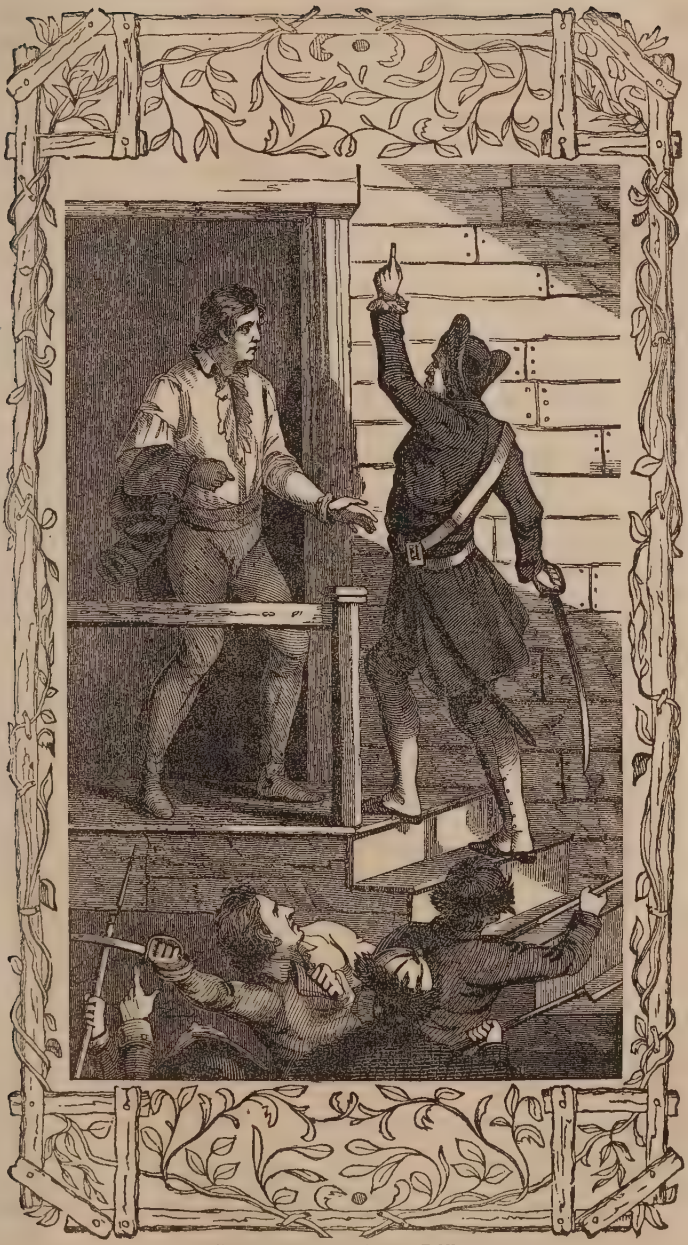
Whilst these exciting events were in progress at the north and east, the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS met at Philadelphia,[a] on the opening of which, delegates from twelve Colonies took their seats.† Peyton Randolph was, for the second time, unanimously chosen President,‡ and Charles Thomson, Secretary. The first subject that engaged their attention, was the reports of the transactions in the various Colonies, having a tendency to open hostility. When they received intelligence of the operations on Lake Champlain, they were quite unprepared for such serious measures; but believing their cause a just one, and encouraged by such a successful commencement, they at once resolved to put all the Colonies in a state of military defence. But before adopting any measures of this kind, they determined to make fresh appeals to the King and people

[a] May 10.

* This enterprise was facilitated by Noah Phelps, a captain of Connecticut volunteers. The day before Allen's arrival, Captain Phelps disguised himself and entered the fort at Ticonderoga, in the character of a countryman wanting to be shaved. In his pretended search for the garrison barber, he observed everything critically; discovered that the walls in part, were in a ruinous state, and that guard was kept very negligently.

† On the twentieth of July, the day appointed by Congress as a fast day, that body received despatches from Georgia, announcing that that province had joined the confederation, and appointed Delegates.

‡ On the nineteenth of May, Mr. Randolph being obliged to return home, John Hancock was unanimously chosen President, to fill his place.



Ethan Allen at Ticonderoga. P. 160

of Great Britain.* They expressed to the King their continued devotion to his person and government, and their deep regret that circumstances had in any degree weakened their attachment to the Crown. To the people they strenuously denied the charge of aiming at independence, or of having, either directly or by implication, made overtures to any foreign government. They truly represented that their acts had been wholly defensive, and that in consequence of the rejection of their petitions by ministers, and wanton acts of oppression by Parliament, all they had done was justifiable. "While we revere," said they, "the memory of our gallant and virtuous ancestors, we never can surrender these glorious privileges for which they fought, bled, and conquered;—your fleets and armies can destroy our towns, and ravage our coasts; these are inconsiderable objects,—things of no moment to men whose bosoms glow with the ardor of Liberty. We can retire beyond the reach of your navy, and, without any sensible diminution of the necessaries of life, enjoy a luxury, which from that period you will want,—the luxury of being free." Having adopted these declarations, the Congress proceeded to make extensive military arrangements, by mustering into service, under the title of the Continental Army, the militia of the various Colonies, and such volunteers as might be obtained. They voted to issue paper money to the amount of three millions of dollars for the pay of the army, and took measures for the establishment of provisional assemblies in the several Colonies.

On the fifteenth of June they adopted a resolution, "That a general be appointed to command all the Continental forces raised for the defence of American Liberty." Also, "That five hundred dollars per month be allowed for the pay and expenses of the general." This was an exceedingly delicate matter, for several military men of much experience were already in the army then investing Boston, and General Ward was in command of all the forces of the east. The great judgment and thorough knowledge of military affairs which George Washington, of Virginia, had exhibited on many occasions; and his commanding talents, as displayed in the Congress of 1774, had made a deep impression upon the minds of the delegates, most of whom were now present, and their thoughts turned upon him to receive the high trust. It was questionable, however, in what light an attempt to supersede General Ward would be viewed. This difficulty, however, was overcome by the magnanimity of the New England delegation. John Adams proposed the adoption of the provincial troops at Boston, as a "Continental Army,"

* See Appendix, Note VI.

and at the conclusion of his remarks, he expressed his intention to propose a Member of Congress from Virginia, for the office of Commander-in-chief. All present understood it to be Washington, and when the day arrived for the appointment,[a] he was nominated by Thomas Johnson, of Maryland, and was unanimously elected. On the convening of Congress the next morning, the President communicated to him officially the notice of his appointment, and he rose in his place and signified his acceptance in a brief and appropriate reply.* Four days afterwards,[b] he received his commission from the President of Congress,† and the members pledged themselves by a unanimous resolve, to maintain, assist and adhere to him with their lives and fortunes in the same cause.‡ Four Major-Generals and eight Brigadier-Generals were likewise appointed for the Continental army.§

[a] June 1.

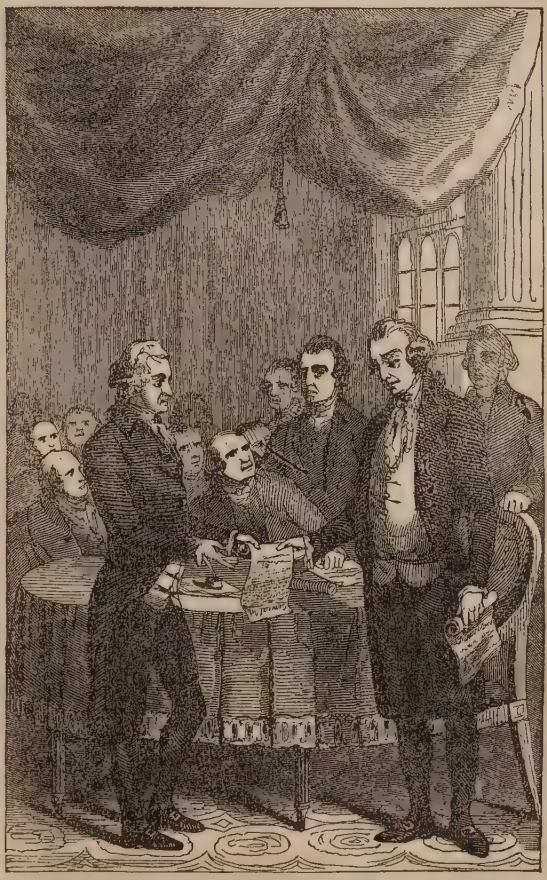
[b] June 19.

* Washington, standing in his place, said:—"Mr. President,—Though I am truly sensible of the high honor done me, in this appointment, yet I feel great distress, from a consciousness that my abilities and military experience may not be equal to the extensive and important trust. However, as the Congress desire it, I will enter upon the momentous duty, and exert every power I possess in their service, and for the support of the glorious cause. I beg they will accept my most cordial thanks for this distinguished testimony of their approbation. But lest some unlucky event should happen, unfavorable to my reputation, I beg it may be remembered, by every gentleman in this room, that I, this day, declare with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with. As to pay, Sir, I beg leave to assure the Congress that, as no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me to accept the arduous employment, at the expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire."

† It was in the following words: "To George Washington, Esq.:—We, reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, valor, conduct, and fidelity, do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be general and commander-in-chief of the army of the United Colonies, and of all the forces now raised, or to be raised by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their services, and join the said army for the defence of American Liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof; and you are hereby vested with full power and authority to act as you shall think for the good and welfare of the service. And we do hereby strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command, to be obedient to your orders, and diligent in the exercise of their several duties. And we do also enjoin and require you, to be careful in executing the great trust reposed in you, by causing strict discipline and order to be observed in the army, and that the soldiers be duly exercised, and provided with all convenient necessaries. And you are to regulate your conduct in every respect, by the rules and discipline of war (as here given you), and punctually to observe and follow such orders and directions, from time to time, as you shall receive from this, or a future Congress of these United Colonies, or committee of Congress. This commission is to continue in force, until revoked by this, or a future Congress. Signed, JOHN HANCOCK, President."

‡ Sparks's Life of Washington (1 vol.), p. 131.

§ To the former rank were chosen Artemas Ward, Charles Lee, Philip Schuyler, and Israel Putnam: to the latter, Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David



WASHINGTON RECEIVING HIS COMMISSION. P. 164.

In the meantime, war had actually commenced in New England. Towards the close of May, Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, arrived at Boston, from England, with a considerable number of marines and drafts from other regiments. Several regiments from Ireland speedily followed,[a] raising the effective force of the British army to upwards of ten thousand men. General Gage issued a proclamation,[b] calling upon the people to lay down their arms, and offering a free pardon to all, except John Hancock and Samuel Adams, whose political crimes were considered too flagitious to admit of forgiveness.

[a] May 25.

[b] June 12.

It was evident that preparations to march the army into the country were in progress by the British generals, to prevent which, the Americans strengthened their entrenchments across Boston Neck, but learning that the former had changed their plan, and were directing their attention to the peninsula at Charlestown, the latter made instant provision for defeating this design. On the evening of the sixteenth of June, Colonel Prescott was ordered to take a detachment of one thousand men and form an entrenchment upon Bunker Hill, a lofty eminence which commanded the neck of the peninsula of Charlestown. Between nine and ten o'clock this force moved silently from Cambridge, passed unobserved by the British over Charlestown Neck, and by some mistake, repaired to the summit of Breed's Hill, another eminence upon that peninsula, and within cannon-shot of Boston. They immediately set to work to throw up a redoubt and entrenchments, and to place their guns in battery. They labored with so much ardor, that by daylight the following morning[c] the whole was sufficiently completed to afford them some shelter from the enemy's fire. So silently was all this labor performed, that neither the English troops nor the people of Boston had any intimation of it, until the fortifications were discovered, about four o'clock in the morning, by the captain of one of the ships of war in Boston harbor. He immediately began to play upon the Americans with his cannon, the report of which aroused the army and the people, who could scarcely believe the testimony of their eyes when they beheld the seeming work of magic.

[c] June 17.

General Gage saw at once, that if the Americans should succeed in finishing a strong fortification there, overlooking, as the eminence did, the whole city, they would speedily dislodge him from the

Wooster, William Heath, Joseph Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Green. To them was added Horatio Gates, as Adjutant-general, with the rank of Brigadier. Washington appointed Thomas Mifflin, of Philadelphia, his aide-de-camp.

town; and he arranged a battery of six heavy guns upon Copp's Hill, a commanding eminence in Boston, and opened a general fire of artillery upon them, accompanied by bombs, but without much effect. Some of the guns of the fleet also opened upon them, but the Americans persevered in the completion of their redoubt.

About noon a strong detachment from the English, three thousand in number, under the command of General Howe, was carried across the river in boats to Charlestown, with the design of storming the works. They found the fortifications so much stronger than they anticipated, that General Howe thought it prudent to wait for reinforcements. The right wing of the Americans rested upon the houses of Charlestown, and the part which connected with the main body was defended by the redoubt upon Breed's Hill. The centre and left wings formed themselves behind the trench which, following the declivity, descended towards Mystic River. From the extremity of the left wing to the river, they erected parallel palisades for protection. The Massachusetts troops occupied Charlestown, the redoubt and part of the trench; those of Connecticut, under Captain Nolten, and of New Hampshire, under Colonel Starke, the rest of the trench. While the English were waiting for a reinforcement, the Americans received one under Doctor Joseph Warren, who was an active and popular patriot, and had received the appointment of Major General. General Pomeroy made his appearance at the same time, and took command of the Connecticut troops. General Putnam was the chief director of the movements, and was continually seen passing along the lines, giving orders and affording encouragement.

While these awful preparations for combat were in progress, every hill-top, church-spire and roof, in Boston, was crowded with people, waiting with dreadful anxiety to see the battle begin. About one o'clock, the heat of the day intense, the English forces, divided into two columns, moved towards the Americans. It was arranged that the left wing under General Pigot should attack the Americans in Charlestown; the centre should attack the redoubt; and the right wing, consisting of light infantry, should force a passage through the palisades near the Mystic, and thus assail the Americans in flank and rear. The Americans who were stationed in Charlestown, fearing the assailants might separate them from the main body upon the hill, retreated; and immediately an order from General Gage was put into execution—Charlestown was set on fire! The buildings being of wood, the conflagration spread rapidly, and soon the whole village was in ashes. By this atrocious act, two thousand people

were deprived of their habitations, and a great amount of property was destroyed.

What a scene was now presented to view! Upon a small eminence, defended by a feeble fortification erected in a day, stood a few brave men, marshalled from the furrows and workshops, and undisciplined in the art of war, bidding defiance to thousands of the choice troops of the most powerful nation upon the earth, which were commanded by experienced generals, and aided by a fleet of armed vessels, all ready at a signal, to scatter their iron hail and destructive bombs, along the patriot line. At their feet, a large town was in flames, while within sight, thousands of men, women and children, the loved ones of their homes, warm friends and dependent families, were rushing, pale with anxiety and alarm, to witness the dreadful conflict. Silently and slowly the British troops advanced, while not a gun was fired by the Americans until the enemy were within about ten rods of the redoubt. Then they poured upon them such a shower of bullets, that their ranks were soon thinned and broken, and in great confusion they retreated to the landing place. The ground was literally covered with the slain, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the British officers rallied their troops for a second attack.

Finally they succeeded, and with unbroken column marched slowly up the hill. Again the Americans reserved their fire until the enemy approached very near, when they overwhelmed them a second time with a deluge of balls. The English again fled in great confusion to the shore, and for some time General Howe remained alone upon the field, every officer having fled or been killed.

General Clinton, who, from Copp's Hill, had been watching these movements, seeing the destruction of Howe's troops, immediately sped to their succor. With a number of resolute officers, he crossed Charles River, rallied the troops, and a third time they ascended the hill, to make a general charge upon the Americans with fixed bayonets. In such an attack, the English had great advantage, for the Americans, though plentifully supplied with muskets, had few bayonets; and after the second attack, their ammunition was nearly exhausted. All chance for a reinforcement, or a supply of ammunition, was cut off by the complete sweep of the isthmus which the armed vessels had.

The left wing and centre of the British army attacked the redoubt, while the light infantry made a violent attack upon the palisades. The assault at all points was furious, and the resistance obstinate. When their ammunition entirely failed, the Americans defended themselves valiantly with the butt-ends of their muskets; but, seeing

the redoubt, and a part of the trench in possession of the enemy, they at once commenced a retreat across Charlestown Neck, where they were enfiladed by the guns of the "Glasgow," an English sloop-of-war, and one or two gun boats or floating batteries. But they retreated with a comparatively small loss, and entrenched themselves upon Prospect Hill, about two miles northwest from Breed's Hill, still maintaining the command of the entrance to Boston.

It was during this retreat that the brave General Warren was killed. Finding the troops under his command hotly pursued by the enemy, he stood alone before the ranks, endeavoring to rally and encourage them by his own example. At that moment an English officer who knew him, borrowed a musket from one of his soldiers, and shot him dead.* In this battle, according to the official accounts, the Americans had one hundred and forty-five slain, and three hundred and four wounded: the English had two hundred and twenty-six killed, and eight hundred and twenty-eight wounded.† Among the British officers of distinction who were killed on the ground, were Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, Major Pitcairn (the commander at Lexington), and Major Williams. Major Spendlove was mortally wounded, and died a few days after.

In the beginning of July, Washington took his leave of Congress, and started for Cambridge. He arrived there on the twelfth, and found the blockading army considerably disheartened in consequence of the defeat at Bunker Hill, and their general discipline was very defective. They had been gathered suddenly from various points, and there being no positive authoritative head, insubordination to strict discipline was common. They had but little ammunition, and most of their guns were without bayonets. His first care was to properly organize and officer the army, and get a supply of ammunition and stores. He soon succeeded in forming an excellent staff of brave officers, and in the establishment of a code of disciplinary laws, to which the soldiers in general paid ready obedience.

On reconnoitring, Washington discovered that the main body of the British army, under General Howe, were strongly entrenching themselves upon Bunker Hill. Three floating batteries were placed in Mystic River; a twenty gun ship in Charles River; a strong battery was erected on Copp's Hill in Boston, and very strong entrench-

* The death of General Warren was greatly lamented by the Americans. He was a physician, and much beloved both in his profession and private life. He had received the commission of Major-General just three days before the battle, and was only thirty-five years of age. He rushed into this battle as a mere volunteer. He was killed almost instantly, by a ball in the head, on or near the spot where now stands Bunker Hill Monument.—*Goodrich.*

† Marshall, vol. ii., pp. 288–94.

Battle of Bunker Hill. P. 170.

ments were in progress upon Boston Neck. In view of these active operations, he clearly saw how dangerous it would be to follow the advice of some members of the Congress, to attack the British troops at once. Instead of that, he began strengthening his own line; and contracting it, he kept the centre at Cambridge, under his own immediate command, placed the right wing at Roxbury, under General Ward, and the left near the Mystic, under General Lee. The British were thus completely blockaded by land, and were obliged to receive all their supplies by ships from distant ports, as the Americans would not furnish them with food of any kind. Still they remained strangely inactive, and the summer and autumn passed away without any collision between the two armies, thus giving Washington ample time to organize his forces and prepare for the Spring campaign, if circumstances should demand one. General Gage was recalled,[a] and the chief command devolved upon General Howe.

[a] October.

The capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, unlocked the door of entrance into Canada, and an expedition for revolutionizing that whole province was early concerted. For this purpose a body of about three thousand troops from New York and New England, were placed under the command of Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, who passed up Lake Champlain, and early in September appeared before St. John's, a town at the head of the lake, not far distant from Montreal, and the first British post in Canada.

For the twofold purpose of preventing or committing invasion, General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, had placed nearly a thousand men in Fort St. John. In the meanwhile, hearing of the success of Allen and Arnold, General Gage had sent Brigadier-General Prescott and a few other officers to Montreal to aid General Carleton; and about the time the provincials appeared before the fortress, Colonel Guy Johnstone arrived there with seven hundred Indian warriors of the Five Nations, and offered their services to the Governor. But they were not accepted, and many of them soon afterwards joined the provincial army.

Finding themselves opposed by so large a force, the provincials retired to, and fortified Aux Noix, an island in the lake about one hundred and fifteen miles north of Ticonderoga. As soon as the work was accomplished, General Schuyler hastened to Ticonderoga for reinforcements, but being attacked by a severe illness, the whole command devolved upon General Montgomery, a young, active, and courageous officer, and skilful military tactitian.

He at once made preparations to attack Montreal, and for this purpose, opened a battery against St. John's; but want of necessary

ammunition made the progress of the siege a slow one. By a sudden movement, he captured Fort Chambly,[a] a few miles north of St. John's, and obtained several pieces of cannon and a large amount of powder.

[a] Oct. 13.

The intrepid Ethan Allen, who participated in these movements, offered to take one hundred and fifty picked men at night, and capture Montreal. Leave was granted him, and the brave Colonel with only eighty men crossed the St. Lawrence, and before daylight approached the town. He was met by British troops and French Canadians of the place, under Major Campbell, and after a severe battle, was defeated, and himself taken prisoner and sent to England in irons. Fifteen of his men were killed, and seven wounded.

On the third of November, St. John's surrendered unconditionally, with upwards of five hundred regulars and one hundred Canadian volunteers. As General Carleton could not get reinforcements, and hearing that Colonel Arnold with another American force was approaching Point Levi, he embarked his men, and retreated down the St. Lawrence to stop Arnold's progress. Carleton was conveyed in a whale-boat, with muffled oars, down the river, and through Montgomery's rafts, on a dark night, and reached Quebec in safety. Montgomery left St. John's immediately on its surrender, leaving a small garrison for its defence, and darting across the St. Lawrence, entered Montreal without much opposition. On the thirteenth it capitulated, and leaving a small garrison there, he hastened towards Quebec, to meet the army under Arnold, which, by forced marches, through a dreary wilderness, succeeded in reaching the banks of the St. Lawrence at Point Levi, on the ninth of November.* When

* This expedition of Arnold, in its conception and execution, is one of the most remarkable on record, and whatever blemishes afterwards appeared upon his character, one thing cannot be denied—he was a man of great sagacity and boldness of character, and as brave an officer as ever commanded an army. At his own request, he was despatched to Quebec, with about eleven hundred men. The route was then a dreary desert, intersected by dense forests and swamps. Starting from Cambridge, the head-quarters of the army blockading Boston, he marched one hundred and thirty miles northward of that city, and embarked with his men in batteaux upon the rough and tortuous Kennebec. He was quite ignorant of the character of the stream he was ascending, it having never been surveyed. He found strong currents, craggy rocks, dangerous shoals, and numerous falls and rapids; but nothing daunted, he pursued his toilsome journey. But Colonel Enos, his second in command, got embarrassed in the windings of the Dead River, a branch of the Kennebec, and finding it impossible to procure food for his soldiers, gave up in despair, and returned to Cambridge, with nearly one-third of the whole detachment.

Finding it impossible to follow the river further, Arnold abandoned his batteaux and forced his way through forests, swamps, and broad savannahs, and for thirty-two long days, he traversed a howling wilderness, where no signs of human life met his eye.* His patriot troops suffered dreadfully from hunger and cold, yet scarcely a

* This country is now the State of Maine.

Montgomery arrived, he found that he had only about four hundred effective men, his garrisons and desertions having thus reduced his army.

Previous to the arrival of Montgomery, and on the day that Montreal capitulated,[a] Arnold crossed the St. Lawrence, ascended the heights of Abraham, at the point where the brave Wolfe scaled them, and drew up his forces upon the plain. But he found the garrison too strong for him, and he retreated to Point Aux Trembles, twenty miles above Quebec, and there awaited the arrival of Montgomery.* Had Arnold reached there a little sooner, he might have taken General Carleton and his staff prisoners, for they left it but a few hours previously.

[a] Nov. 13.

On the arrival of Montgomery,[b] the two forces were united, and numbered about nine hundred men. They marched upon Quebec, which was then strongly garrisoned, the forces of General Carleton having been added to those of Colonel McLean. Montgomery sent a flag and summoned the garrison to surrender. The summons was answered by firing upon the bearer of the flag. Finding a siege necessary, he opened a six gun battery within seven hundred yards of the walls.[c] His heaviest guns being twelve-pounders, they were too light to make a breach, and, after a long and ineffectual siege, the two officers determined upon an assault at night. This was an exceedingly dangerous enterprise, and nothing but the desperate nature of the case, like that of Wolfe, could have justified the temerity that planned it. But they must either abandon the siege, and retreat homewards, amid the rigors of a Canadian winter, or make the desperate effort. The latter was their determination.

[b] Dec. 1.

[c] Dec. 20.

Between four and five o'clock in the morning on the thirty-first of December, in the midst of a heavy storm of snow, the American troops, arranged in four columns, were put in motion. Two of them, under Majors Livingston and Brown, were to make two feigned attacks upon the upper town; while the other two, led by Mont-

murmur escaped their lips. On the third of November he reached the first Canadian settlement on the river Chaudière, which flows into the St. Lawrence nearly opposite Quebec. He had then divided the last fragment of provisions among his men, and after resting for two or three days, and procuring a scanty supply of food from the thin population, he took up his line of march along the banks of the Chaudière, and reached Point Levi, opposite Quebec, on the ninth of November.

* When Arnold first arrived opposite Quebec, the garrison was very weak, and it would doubtless have been obliged to surrender to him unconditionally, if he could have crossed the river immediately on his arrival. But for five days a terrible storm raged, and he could procure no boats. In the meanwhile, Colonel McLean and his brave Highlanders, who had been falling back from the Sorel, to reach the city, succeeded, and thus saved it.

gomery and Arnold, were to make real attacks upon the lower town, upon opposite sides. Montgomery advanced along a narrow strip of beach by the way of Cape Diamond, and passed a piquet and block, which were quickly deserted on his approach. His progress was much impeded by enormous masses of ice which the current of the river had piled up, and his men, slipping and clambering, were stretched along in a thin line, in a peculiarly exposed position. Some English sailors and Highland soldiers stood silently at the battery as the Americans approached, and when they arrived within about forty paces, a cannon loaded with grape shot, was discharged, and dealt death on every side. The brave Montgomery,* Captain McPherson, his aide-de-camp, Captain Cheeseman, an orderly-sergeant, and a private, were instantly killed, and several others were slightly wounded. Seeing their officers fall, the soldiers retreated in great confusion.

In the meanwhile, Arnold had entered the town, and at the head of his men, proceeded to capture a battery of two twelve-pounders, situated in a narrow street. The artillery with one cannon upon a sledge, led the van, followed by a company of riflemen, under Captain Morgan, afterwards distinguished for his brave exploits at the south. When near the battery, they received a flank fire of musketry, and Arnold, severely wounded in the leg, was carried to the hospital. Morgan took the command, and rushing forward, secured the battery. The English and Canadians now pressed upon them from all sides, and finding it impossible to retreat, the Americans, to the number of three hundred and forty, after a contest of several hours, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Between sixty and seventy Americans were killed.

Arnold, with the remnant of the army, retreated up the river, three miles above Quebec, where he received occasional reinforcements, and maintained his position during the winter. General Thomas, who was appointed to succeed Montgomery, arrived there

* The body of Montgomery was borne off the field by Major (afterwards Colonel) Aaron Burr, who accompanied Arnold in his march through the wilderness. Burr was within six feet of his general when he fell. Montgomery was deeply lamented by all. He had distinguished himself in the French and Indian wars, had shared the toils, and hardships, and honors of Wolfe, and, when the Revolution broke out, joined the American army. He had previously purchased an estate upon the Hudson River, in the county of Duchess, and married the daughter of Robert Livingston, one of the leading patriots of the Revolution. His body was found in the snow, the day after the battle, and by order of General Carleton, it was buried with the honors due to an officer of his rank. Congress subsequently directed a monument to be erected to his memory; and in 1818, at the expense of the State of New York, his remains were placed near the monument, a basso-relievo, under the portico of St. Paul's church in the city of New York.

early in May; but Governor Carleton, having about that time received large reinforcements from England, marched against the Americans, and obliged them to make a hasty retreat, leaving all their stores and many of the sick in the hands of the enemy. The sick were very humanely treated, and after being well fed and clothed, were allowed a safe return home.

At the mouth of the river Sorel, General Thomas was reinforced by several regiments, but was unable to maintain his position. He there died of the small-pox. The American army retreated from post to post, and finally entirely evacuated Canada.[a] [a] June 18, 1776.

While these events were transpiring at the North, and New England was in open rebellion, the other Colonies were in a blaze, and eager to join the standard of revolt. In Virginia, a tempest of indignation was raised against Lord Dunmore, the Governor, in consequence of publicity having been given to some of his letters, containing language similar to those of Hutchinson. This indignation was increased by various subsequent impolitic acts, and, finally, an open rupture took place. A Provincial Congress having been formed, and provision made to arm the inhabitants, as in New England, the Governor unwisely considered it necessary to remove the powder of the magazine at Williamsburgh, on board an English vessel of war. This was done at night,[b] and the next morning the people, highly indignant, demanded its immediate restitution. The Governor refused, but pledged his word and honor, that if the powder was wanted to quell a dreaded insurrection of the slaves, it should be immediately restored. [b] April 20, 1775.

But the stern sense of justice of Patrick Henry could not be satisfied with this compromise, and his keen perception of the tendency of events around him, decided him to prepare at once for energetic measures. He called together a company of volunteers,[c] under the command of Captain Meredith, and aroused their patriotism by his burning eloquence. They decided that the powder must be immediately restored, or its equivalent in money paid into the provincial treasury. Captain Meredith resigned his command, and Henry, placing himself at the head of the company, marched towards Williamsburgh, to present their dictum to the Governor. The news of the movement spread like wild-fire, and the popularity of the leader was so attractive, that before he reached the seat of government, nearly five thousand people had joined his standard. The royalists were dismayed, and lukewarm patriots were greatly alarmed. The family of Lord Dunmore was conveyed on board a ship of war for safety, and his residence was strongly garrisoned by marines. But the Governor saw that resistance was [c] May 2.

vain, and on the morning of the fourth of May, he caused Henry to be met, and payment to be made for the powder, to the full amount claimed by him.* Other events soon after followed, which so much excited the people against the Governor, that he deemed it prudent to abdicate the government, and take shelter with his family again, on board the Fowey man-of-war. He endeavored during the summer and autumn to regain his lost power, by attacks at different points, by small detachments from the vessel, but finding that these expeditions incensed without awing the people, he resolved upon bolder and more cruel measures. He authoritatively summoned all capable of bearing arms, and *offered freedom to the slaves who should join his standard!* By these means he collected a force sufficient to take possession of Norfolk, the principal sea-port of Virginia. The provincials assembled a considerable body of troops to dislodge them, and succeeded in driving Lord Dunmore and the loyalists and blacks under his charge, back on board the Fowey, where he was greatly annoyed by discharges of musketry from the houses near the water. In the meantime, the frigate Liverpool arrived, and the Governor sent word to the provincials, that they must furnish provisions for the vessels, and stop firing, or he would bombard the town. The inhabitants refused, and the Liverpool, two corvettes, and the Fowey, opened a destructive cannonade upon the town. At the same time some marines landed and set fire to the houses, and, in a short time, Norfolk was reduced to ashes.[a] Even this atrocious act did not awe the people into submission; and finding further attempts to regain his power useless, he sailed for the West Indies, where he left the negroes, and proceeded to join the main army.

[a] Jan. 1, 1776.

Governor Martin, of North Carolina, Lord William Campbell, Governor of South Carolina, and Governor Tryon, of New York, became involved in similar troubles, and respectively took refuge for safety on board English ships of war. The Governors of other Colonies, who contrived to retain their places, were obliged to do so at the expense of all power, for nowhere were the officers of the Crown allowed to exercise jurisdiction.

More difficulties occurred in New York than in any other Colony, except Massachusetts and Virginia, on account of the many royalists and timid patriots who resided there. Governor Tryon had been notified by Lord Dartmoor, that the commanders of vessels had orders to act against any city, where troops were raised, or fortifications erected, as open rebels. This order Tryon took special pains to make generally known, and as New York was greatly exposed to attacks from the sea, the ardor of the revolutionists made but little

* Three hundred and thirty pounds sterling.

head against the loyalty of some and the fears of others. Still, a tone of defiance was observed. A Committee of Public Safety was appointed, and other measures, calculated to carry out the plans of the General Congress, were adopted. Several tumults occurred during the summer and autumn, caused by the conflicting sentiments of Whigs and Tories. The printing-press of James Rivington, a tory printer, was broken, and his type melted and cast into bullets ;* and various indignities were offered to those who sided with the government. On the other hand, the Tories did everything in their power to embarrass the movements of the revolutionary party, defeat the plans of the General Congress, and to give aid to the British ships anchored in the bay, by supplying them with provisions and other stores.

Finally, in October, the General Congress perceiving an increase of defection from the American cause, in the Colony of New York, adopted a recommendation to Provincial Congresses to "arrest and secure every person in the respective Colonies, whose going at large might, in their opinion, endanger the safety of the Colonies, or the liberties of America." Governor Tryon at once saw what would be the effect of this recommendation, and fled for refuge on board the Halifax packet, lying in the harbor, from whence he kept up a constant intercourse with the royalists on shore.

During the summer and autumn, the General Congress was busy in the consummation of plans to carry on the war with vigor. They considered a plan for a confederation of all the Colonies, under the title of the THIRTEEN UNITED COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA ; issued bills of credit, at various times, to the amount of six millions of Spanish dollars ; adopted an address to the people of Canada ; a declaration of the causes which led to the war ; a petition to the King ; an address to the people of Great Britain, and also to the people of Ireland ;† established a Post Office ;‡ and assumed all the duties and powers of an independent government.

* About noon on the third of November, a company of light horse, seventy-five in number, under Captain Sears, a member of the New York Provincial Congress, armed with muskets and bayonets, marched into the city and demolished the obnoxious establishment. On their road back, they seized the Rev. Mr. Seabury (a clergyman of the Church of England), and two or three others, and carried them prisoners to Connecticut. These high-handed measures were not justified by the intelligent Whigs—still, such was the excited state of the times, no attempt was thought prudent to be made, to punish the offenders.

† See Appendix, Note VI.

‡ Doctor Franklin, finding a reconciliation with the home government past all hope, returned to America in April, and was immediately elected a delegate to the General Congress from the Colony of Pennsylvania. He was one of the most useful and active men in that body. In August he was appointed Postmaster-General, with a salary of one thousand dollars per annum.

While the whole country was lifting high the arm of defiance, and looking to the Continental army at Cambridge for its support, gloomy forebodings for the future disturbed the mind of the commander-in-chief. The troops under him were in a distressed condition for meeting the rigors of the approaching winter, and Washington found that their destitution, coupled with the disastrous result of the conflict on Breed's Hill, would cause many to leave the army on the expiration of their term of enlistment. As none of any importance could be added to his army without the concurrence of either the General Congress, or the Provincial Assemblies, he feared the effects of delay which large bodies always exhibit. He earnestly solicited Congress to take measures for the next enlistment, and to provide comforts for the army.[a] On the eighteenth of October, Franklin, Lynch, and Harrison, a committee of Congress, arrrived at his head-quarters, and soon arranged matters satisfactorily. Authority was given to levy twenty-six regiments of about eight hundred men each, independently of the militia. Congress, however, would not consent to the enlistment of soldiers for more than a year, nor did they agree to give a bounty until the next January. It required all Washington's firmness and address to induce soldiers again to enlist, and when the period of their first enlistment expired, and new ones were made, he found his force reduced to about five thousand men. These were afterwards reinforced; but had an *active* enemy witnessed this dissolution and re-assemblage of an army, the result must have been disastrous in the extreme.*

[a] Sept. 20.

Notwithstanding the coast swarmed with American privateers,† and Congress had ordered that five ships of thirty-two guns, five of twenty-eight guns, and three of twenty-four guns, should be built

* As early as the twentieth of September, he wrote thus to Congress:—"It gives me great distress to oblige me to solicit the attention of the honorable Congress to the state of this army, in terms which imply the slightest apprehension of being neglected. But my situation is inexpressibly distressing, to see the winter fast approaching upon a naked army; the time of their service within a few weeks of expiring; and no provision yet made for such important events. Added to these, the military chest is totally exhausted; the Paymaster has not a single dollar in hand. The Commissary-General assures me he has strained his credit for the subsistence of the army to the utmost. The Quarter-master-General is precisely in the same situation; and the greater part of the troops are in a state not far from mutiny upon a deduction from their stated allowance."—*Washington's Letters.*

† The privateers captured many English vessels loaded with provisions and ammunition for the British land and naval forces on our coast; and some of them, with unequalled skill and intrepidity, extended their expeditions to the coast of Africa, and seized the powder of the British forts, before the garrisons were aware of the outbreak in America. They also landed on the island of Bermuda, surprised the magazine, and carried off all the powder.

and put to sea with all possible speed, yet the people on the coast dreaded the assaults of the British navy. The distress in Boston caused descents to be made upon coast towns to procure provisions. Falmouth, in Massachusetts, refusing to give aid, was laid in ashes; Newport was threatened with a similar fate, and indeed all the seaports were so entirely exposed that not the least safety was felt. These things made Washington dread extensive defection on the part of the exposed Colonists; and, together with the mutinous spirit engendered by privations, becoming fearfully visible in the army, made his fears of a general miscarriage painful in the extreme. The disastrous campaign at the north deepened the gloom that brooded over the Colonists, and the year 1775 closed without much hope for the success of the Americans.

Parliament assembled on the twenty-sixth of October, and the burden of the speech from the throne was the intelligence of events transpiring in America. Members declared their belief that the Colonists aimed at complete independence, and recommended decisive exertions to crush the rebellion; the adoption of resolves to pardon the misguided of the rebels who should repent, and the appointment of commissioners, resident in America, to have discretionary power to grant pardons, and also indemnity to any province that should return to its allegiance. They stated that offers of aid had been received from several foreign powers, and that no reason existed for apprehending hostility or impediment, in any quarter.

Ministers determined upon the most vigorous measures to put down the rebellion, so fiercely blazing in the Colonies. The late events in America had awakened a false national pride, and addresses poured in from various parts of the kingdom, expressing assurance of public support. The petition to the King, sent by Congress, was rejected by ministers as coming from an illegal body, and, as they expressed it, "consisting only of a series of empty professions, which their actions belie."

The debates in both Houses of Parliament on the adoption of an address to the King, which was but an echo, in sentiment, to his speech, were very warm. Still, ministers maintained their usual majorities, although the opposition gained a few accessions to their numbers. Among them was the Duke of Grafton, who, misled, as he said, by the supposition that the measures of ministers would issue in a peaceful adjustment of difficulties, now urged a liberal course of conciliation, by repealing all the obnoxious acts passed since 1763. The cabinet, however, would not concur with him, and he resigned the seals and took a decided place in the ranks of the opposition. Severe sickness silenced the thunders of Chatham's

eloquence upon the floor of the Senate, but Camden, Shelburne, and Richmond, nobly defended the cause of the Americans. They declared that in every instance Great Britain had been the aggressor, and that her proceedings had been unjust, oppressive, and cruel in the extreme. Wilkes, then Lord Mayor, said ministers had wrested the sceptre from the hands of his Majesty. Colonel Barré severely censured the actors in the campaign at Boston. "The British army," said he, "is a mere wen—a little excrescence on the vast continent of America;" and he assured ministers that defeat was certain. Fox characterized Lord North as the blundering pilot who had brought the vessel of State into its present difficulties; "in one campaign he had lost a whole country." Mr. Adam charged Lord North with indolence and inaction. The minister justified that inaction on the ground that he had been deceived by events, never imagining that all America would simultaneously have arisen in arms. The address was carried in the Commons, one hundred and seventy-six to seventy-two; in the Lords, seventy-five to thirty-two.

In the House of Lords, the Duke of Richmond introduced the petition of Congress to the King; and observing Mr. Richard Penn, from Pennsylvania,* in the house, he, with much difficulty, obtained permission that he should be examined before them. Governor Penn declared his belief that the Colonies were willing to acknowledge the legislative authority of Great Britain, and did not aim at independence; that they would resist arbitrary taxation, and all the other obnoxious acts, so that, if no concessions were made, they would not hesitate in seeking the aid of foreign powers. The Duke then moved that the petition afforded ground for conciliation, but it was lost, by eighty-six to thirty-nine.

Mr. Burke proposed a plan in the Commons, for conciliation. It included a repeal of the Boston Port Bill; a promise not to tax America; a general amnesty; and the calling of a Congress, by royal authority, for the adjustment of remaining difficulties. This plan rather pleased Lord North, but he was so well assured that it would not effect its intended objects, that he would not accept it. The proposition was lost by a large majority.

Lord North then introduced a bill, prohibiting all intercourse or trade with the Colonies, till they should submit, and placing the whole country under martial law. This bill included the suggestion of the King, to appoint resident commissioners, with discretionary powers, to grant pardons, and effect indemnities. The bill received

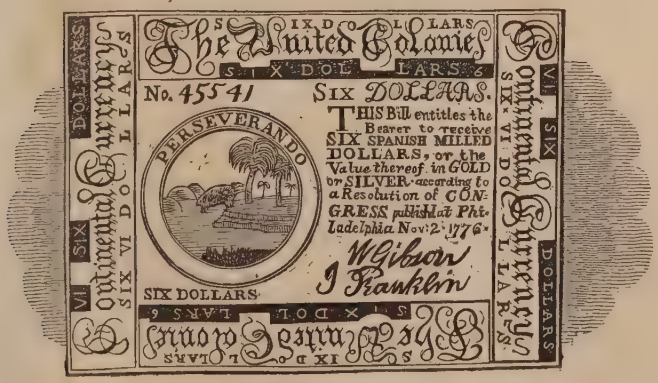
* The petition was sent to England by the hand of Governor Penn, and he and Arthur Lee were instructed to procure its presentation.

Engagement of German mercenary troops for the British Army in America.

the sweeping majority in the Commons of one hundred and twelve to sixteen; in the Lords, seventy-eight to nineteen.

Having determined, by this bill, to employ force, the next necessary step was to procure it. Twenty-eight thousand seamen, and a land force of fifty-five thousand men, were declared to be the necessary number. Having only a small peace establishment at home, and unwilling to wait for volunteers, or for the return of troops from foreign stations, ministers resolved to hire soldiers of some of the German princes, and at the beginning of 1776 a treaty for that purpose was concluded with several of them. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel agreed to furnish twelve thousand one hundred and four men; the Duke of Brunswick, four thousand and eighty-four; the Prince of Hesse, six hundred and sixty-eight; the Prince of Waldeck, six hundred and seventy; making in all, seventeen thousand five hundred and twenty-six. These princes, perceiving the stern want of the British government, extorted very advantageous terms. They received seven pounds four shillings and four pence sterling for each man, besides being relieved from the burden of maintaining them. In addition to these considerations, they were to receive a certain stipend, amounting in all to one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds sterling; and further, England guaranteed the dominions of these princes against foreign attack.

These hired mercenaries, whose employment by the British government added twofold odium to the oppressive measures about to be enforced, formed that portion of the army of Great Britain during the first years of the contest, known as the *Hessians*.


The United Colonies
SIX DOLLARS
No. 45541
SIX DOLLARS.
THIS Bill entitles the Bearer to receive SIX SPANISH MILLED DOLLARS, or the Value thereof in GOLD or SILVER, according to a Resolution of CONGRESS published at Philadelphia Nov: 2: 1776.
W Gibson
I Franklin
PERSEVERANDO
SIX DOLLARS

Continental Paper Money.

EVENTS OF 1776.

Richard Henry Lee—Earl Cornwallis—Sir Henry Clinton.

CHAPTER VI.

N the twenty-ninth of February, the treaties entered into by Great Britain with the several German princes for the hire of troops, were laid before Parliament, and a motion to refer them to the Committee of Supply gave rise to a long and stormy debate. The enormous price paid for the services of those mercenaries, and the odious character of the whole transaction, viewed in the light of justice, and the spirit which should characterize Christian nations, even though hostile to each other, afforded ample theme for invective and just censure. It was

bad enough for English troops to be sent to slaughter their own brethren, under the plea of necessity—a necessity arising from the relation of government and the governed, which precedent had established, and which true conceptions of rights inalienable had demanded should be interrupted; but to hire the bone and sinew, and *lives* of foreign troops—purchased assassins—to aid in the consummation of the wicked deed, caused a foul stain upon the escutcheon of Great Britain, which her best friends saw and deplored. The opposition in Parliament, with a sincere concern for the fair fame of their country, used every laudable endeavor to prevent the transaction; and when in spite of their efforts it was consummated, they indignantly cast upon it the odium it deserved. The most gloomy view was taken of the condition and prospects of the British force, for it was evident that almost total defection from government existed in the Colonies. It was represented that these German soldiers, as soon as they found the broad Atlantic rolling between them and their masters, and stood side by side with their happy brethren in America, now ardent in the cause of Liberty,* would accept land of the Colonists, sheathe the sword, and leave British troops to do the dire work which their German masters had sent them to perform. On the other hand, ministers counted largely upon the valor and military character of these Hessians, many of whom had seen service under Frederick the Great; and they actually asserted that such would be the terror which they would inspire, that it would only be necessary for them to show themselves, to cause the Americans to lay down their arms! Lord North's motion for reference was carried by a majority of two hundred and forty-two to eighty-eight.

When the committee reported,[a] another warm debate ensued, and the Duke of Richmond moved not only to countermand the order for the mercenaries to proceed to America, but to suspend hostilities altogether. The Earl of Coventry inveighed against the employment of foreign troops to fight the battles of England, pronounced the war unjust, and maintained that an immediate recognition of the independence of the United Colonies was preferable to war. "Look on the map of the globe," said he, "view Great Britain and North America, compare their extent, consider the soil, rivers, climate, and increasing population of the latter; nothing but the most obstinate blindness and partiality can engender a serious opinion that such a country will long continue under subjection to this. The question is not, therefore, how we shall be able to realize

[a] March 4.

* It was estimated that, at the time the Revolution broke out, there were about one hundred and fifty thousand German emigrants in the American Colonies, the most of whom took sides with the patriots.

a vain, delusive scheme of dominion, but how we shall make it the interest of the Americans to continue faithful allies and warm friends. Surely that can never be effected by fleets and armies. Instead of meditating conquest, and exhausting our own strength in an ineffectual struggle, we should wisely, abandoning wild schemes of coercion, avail ourselves of the only substantial benefit we can ever expect, the profits of an extensive commerce, and the strong support of a firm and friendly alliance and compact for mutual defence and assistance."*

Language like this, and other expositions of the weakness and wickedness of the government, called forth the denunciations of the ministerial party; and Lord Temple declared that rebellion abroad was encouraged by harangues in Parliament. "The next easterly wind," said he, "will carry to America every imprudent expression used in this debate." He deplored the exposition of their weakness, and said, "It is time to act, not to talk; much should be done, little said." Richmond's motion was negatived, one hundred against thirty-two.

On the fourteenth of March the Duke of Grafton proposed an address to the King, requesting that a proclamation might be issued to declare that if the Colonists should, within a reasonable time, show a willingness to treat with commissioners,† or present a petition, hostilities should be suspended and their petition be received and respected. He assured the House that both France and Spain were arming; and alarmed them by the assertion that "two French gentlemen had been to America, had conferred with Washington at his camp, and had since been to Philadelphia to confer with the Congress."‡ After a long debate, the Duke's motion was lost, by

* Pictorial History of the Reign of George III., vol. i., p. 251.

† On the twentieth of November, 1775, Parliament repealed the Boston Port and other restraining bills, and enacted a general one prohibiting all trade with the Colonies. They also provided for the appointment of commissioners, who should be invested with both civil and military powers, authorized to grant pardons or fight battles.

‡ Some time in the month of November, 1775, Congress was informed that a foreigner was in Philadelphia who was desirous of making to them a confidential communication. At first no notice was taken of it, but the intimation having been several times repeated, a committee consisting of John Jay, Dr. Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, was appointed to hear what he had to say. They agreed to meet him in a room in Carpenters' Hall, and at the time appointed, they found him there, an elderly, lame gentleman, and apparently a wounded French officer. He told them that the French King was greatly pleased with the exertions for liberty which the Americans were making; that he wished them success, and would, whenever it should be necessary, manifest more openly his friendly sentiments towards them. The committee requested to know his authority for giving these assurances. He answered only by drawing his hand across his throat, and saying, "Gentlemen, I shall take care of my head" They then asked what demonstrations of friendship

a majority of ninety-one against thirty-one. One or two other similar propositions were made, but to no effect. Fox called for an inquiry into the causes of the failure of the military operations in America, but his motion for the call was lost. A motion was also made, but lost, to have a perpetual Parliament during the difficulties with the Colonists.

On the twenty-third of May, his Majesty, after speaking of the state of the Colonies, expressed a hope that his rebellious subjects would yet submit, but desired legislators to be prepared for acting with great decision, if they did not submit. He then prorogued Parliament.

While preparations were making in England to send out a large reinforcement of troops to join General Howe at Boston, the blockading provincial army began vigorous preparations for besieging the city, confidently expecting to make the British force therein prisoners of war. By the middle of February, the number of regular troops under Washington, which, at the close of 1775, amounted to only about nine thousand men, was augmented to fourteen thousand. Congress, perceiving that the forces there would soon be needed for the protection of other parts of the American territory, urged Washington to take decisive measures for driving the enemy from Boston. Washington proposed an immediate attack upon the city, but was overruled by the other officers in a council of war, particularly by Gates and Ward, and he resolved to occupy the heights of Dorchester, which completely commanded the city. The Americans erected strong batteries upon the shore at Cobb's Hill, at Lechmere's Point, at Phipp's Farm, and at Lamb's Dam, near Roxbury, for the purpose of occupying the attention of the enemy in that quarter. On the night of the second of March they opened a terrible fire upon the city, having a large number of bombs and heavy artillery captured at Ticonderoga. Almost incessantly the bombs fell in the city, and the garrison was constantly employed in extinguishing the flames of the houses which they had set on fire. This cannonade was kept up until the evening of the fourth, while fresh troops of militia were coming in from all quarters.

On that evening, everything being prepared, the Americans, about

they might expect from the King of France. "Gentlemen," answered he, "if you want arms you shall have them; if you want ammunition you shall have it; if you want money you shall have it." The committee observed that these were important assurances, and again desired to know by what authority they were made. "Gentlemen," said he, again drawing his hand across his throat, "I shall take care of my head;" and this was the only answer they could obtain from him. He was seen in Philadelphia no more.—*See Life of John Jay, written by his son William Jay.*

two thousand strong, under General Thomas, proceeded in profound silence towards the heights of Dorchester. The night was a dark one, and the wind, blowing away from Boston, was favorable for their concealment, and they reached the heights unobserved. The Americans went vigorously to work, and so amazing was their activity, that by ten o'clock they completed two forts, which would afford tolerable protection; one on the height nearest the city, the other towards Castle William. At daybreak the next morning, the British, with dread surprise, witnessed an apparition similar to that presented on Breed's Hill on the morning of the seventeenth of June in the preceding year. The first intimation they had of this movement of the provincials, was the appearance of a dangerous battery and fortifications, from whence General Thomas began to thunder at the town and ships of war.

From this point, the cannon of the Americans could sweep the city and the whole harbor. This, both General Howe and the British admiral saw, and they determined to take measures to dislodge General Thomas at once. For this purpose, Lord Percy was despatched with three thousand men, who embarked in transports, with a view of proceeding up the river to the foot of Dorchester Hill. But a furious storm arose, which rendered the harbor impassable, and the attack was necessarily deferred. Meanwhile, Washington diligently perfected measures to prevent the attack at that point, or to meet it successfully, if made. He also planned an attack upon the town at the same time, with four thousand men under the command of Generals Sullivan and Green. General Mifflin had also prepared a great number of hogsheads full of stones and sand, which he intended to roll down the heights of Dorchester, when the enemy were ascending them, and thus sweep off whole columns at once.

General Howe, becoming acquainted with these various plans and preparations, came to the wise and humane conclusion that "prudence was the better part of valor;" and having some time before received orders from Lord Dartmouth, one of the Secretaries of State, to evacuate Boston, and establish himself at New York, he concluded this occasion was the most favorable one to obey those orders. Accordingly a flag was sent out from the Selectmen of Boston,[a] by order of General Howe, acquainting Washington with his design to evacuate the city, and to intimate his intention to leave the town standing, provided he should be allowed to embark unmolested. This communication not being signed by Howe, Washington took no notice of it officially, but instructed some of his officers to intimate that the terms, if properly presented,

[a] March 8.

would be complied with. General Howe designated the fifteenth as the day for the embarkation of the troops, and meanwhile, more than fifteen hundred tory families, dreading the just indignation of their countrymen, prepared to embark in the same vessels. During the interim, all was confusion, and lawless bands of soldiers took every opportunity to plunder the houses of the inhabitants. General Howe took strong measures to prevent these outrages, but to little purpose.

The prevalence of a strong east wind delayed their departure until the seventeenth. At four in the morning, they began their embarkation, and at ten, all were on board, the number of troops being about seven thousand. The rear guard was scarcely out of the city, when, to the great joy of the inhabitants,* Washington entered it on the other side, with drums beating, colors flying, and all the display of a glorious triumph.† General Putnam, with a division of the army, had entered it the day previous. So crowded were the vessels with the tory emigrants and their effects, that Howe was obliged to leave behind him two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon (half of which were serviceable), four large mortars, one hundred and fifty horses, twenty-five thousand bushels of wheat, and a quantity of barley, oats, and other provisions, which our army then greatly needed.

Through the reprehensible want of foresight of General Howe, no cruiser was left in the vicinity, to warn British ships of his departure. The consequence was, that several store-ships from England soon after unsuspectingly sailed into the harbor, and fell into the hands of the Americans.‡ Shortly after that, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, with seven hundred men direct from Britain, sailed into the harbor and became prisoners.

Washington, ignorant of the destination of General Howe, strongly suspected that he had sailed for New York, with the view of taking possession, and fortifying that city. This result he greatly dreaded,

* It was indeed a joyful day for Boston. Sixteen long months they had endured hunger, cold, and every privation. The most necessary articles of food had risen to an exorbitant price. A pound of fresh fish cost twenty-three cents; a goose two dollars; a turkey three dollars; a duck one dollar; hams fifty cents a pound. Vegetables were altogether wanting. A sheep cost about nine dollars; apples eight dollars a barrel; firewood ten dollars a cord, and finally, fuel could not be procured at all. In some instances, the pews and benches of churches were taken for fuel, and the counters of warehouses, and even houses not inhabited, were demolished for the sake of the wood.

† Congress passed a vote of thanks to Washington and his army, and directed a gold medal, commemorative of the event, to be struck.

‡ One of these ships had on board fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder, and other munitions of war.

for he knew that through the extensive influence of the numerous loyalists there, the city would be made a stronghold for the enemy, and a powerful leaven of defection for the whole province. He acccordingly prepared to march the main body of his army thither, after placing Boston in a state of defence, and leaving a garrison under the command of General Ward. He also wrote to Brigadier-General Lord Stirling, commanding at New York, to be vigilant, and to expect a reinforcement of five battalions and several companies of artillery. Under the direction of Congress, General Lee was sent with a body of troops into that province, to seize the arms of all the loyalists, and place the city in a state of defence. Lee hastily raised a body of troops in Connecticut, and by forced marches, reached the city almost before the inhabitants were generally aware of the movement. They remonstrated, but he at once commenced erecting fortifications, and would soon have had the city well defended, and all the royalists disarmed, had not the order for the latter measure been countermanded. Washington, with the bulk of the continental army, arrived in New York early in April.

Howe, instead of going to New York, sailed eastward, and on the fifth of April, arrived safely at Halifax, Nova Scotia, where the emigrants and troops were safely landed It was arranged that he should leave Halifax with his troops in time to be at New York in June, where he was to be joined by Sir Henry Clinton and his troops from the south.

Before the events just recorded took place in Boston, North Carolina was the theatre of considerable tumult. Governor Martin, who had taken refuge on board an armed vessel, was busy in planning schemes to retrieve the royal cause. He contrived to collect a body of Highlanders, lately emigrated to America, and with a large number of rough backwoodsmen, formed quite a formidable force, who were placed under the command of Colonels McDonald and McLeod. They set up the royal standard and summoned all men to repair to it. These bold movements in the midst of so much defection, were made on the strength of a promise of aid from regular troops under Clinton, to be landed at Wilmington. But the promised assistance did not arrive, and these troops, in attempting to march to Wilmington, were surrounded by an insurgent force, and McLeod and most of the Highlanders were taken prisoners.

On the third of May, Lord Cornwallis, with seven regiments destined to operate against the Carolinas, arrived on that coast in a squadron of transports convoyed by Admiral Sir Peter Parker ;* and

* They sailed from Cork, Ireland, on the twelfth of February.

almost at the same moment, General Clinton arrived at Cape Fear, and took command of the troops. Clinton was instructed to endeavor, by proclamations, to win the inhabitants back to allegiance, if possible, without resorting to force of arms. He was also instructed, in case he found the royalists pretty numerous and determined, to leave some troops with them, and with the rest to repair to New York, to join the commander-in-chief, General Howe. But he found that the capture of the Highlanders had greatly dispirited the loyalists; and after remaining there inactive for some time, he and Parker agreed to exceed their instructions, and make a descent upon Charleston, the capital of South Carolina.

The fleet arrived off Charleston on the fourth of June, but through an intercepted letter, the inhabitants had been made acquainted with the design, and greatly strengthened the defences. The entrance to Charleston is through a narrow channel between Long Island and Sullivan's Island. Upon the latter was a fort,* lately erected, which completely commanded the entrance, and presented a formidable obstacle in the way of an attack upon the city. Besides this, the city and the fort were garrisoned by nearly six thousand provincials, under General Lee. This vigilant officer had been watching the movements of Clinton for months, and had followed him from province to province, while on his expeditions among the royalists.

General Clinton, with his troops, landed upon Long Island, and erected two batteries, chiefly for the purpose of covering his forces when they should land upon Sullivan's Island to attack the fort. At half-past ten in the morning of the twenty-eighth of June, Sir Peter Parker gave the signal for action, and his ships immediately came to anchor, with springs upon their cables, directly in front of the fort.† Unacquainted with the soundings, three of his frigates soon got aground. Two of them hove off, but the third (the Acteon) could not be moved. At the same time, the batteries upon Long Island opened upon the fort, and all the light infantry and grenadiers embarked for Sullivan's Island in armed boats in the rear of some floating batteries. They were, however, immediately recalled and ordered back to their encampment, leaving the ships to continue their fire upon the fort, which was briskly returned by the Americans. The firing upon both sides, with scarcely an intermission, was kept up until nearly ten o'clock at night. The fire from the fort did terrible execution; the ships were nearly disabled; several of the chief officers were

* Named, as a compliment to its gallant defender, Fort Moultrie.

† His fleet consisted of the Bristol, of fifty guns, Experiment, of fifty guns, and the Active, Soleby, Acteon, Syren, and Sphynx, twenty-eight gun frigates; the Thunderer, bomb, and the Friendship, an armed ship of twenty-four guns

killed or wounded, and at one time Commodore Parker was alone upon deck. Finally, in a dreadfully shattered state, the fleet moved off, having lost about two hundred men, among whom was Lord William Campbell, Governor of South Carolina, and other officers of rank. The Americans had only thirty-five killed and wounded.

The next morning preparations were made for a second attack, and the land troops of Clinton, so anxiously looked for by the seamen on the preceding day, to attack and dislodge Lee from behind the fort, were again embarked, but, as before, at once ordered back, and no further attempt was made. The Acteon frigate, that still remained aground, was set fire to by order of the commander, and burned to the water's edge, to prevent its falling into the hands of the Americans. On the twenty-first, Clinton and the troops set sail, under convoy of the Soleby frigate, to join Howe at New York.

This success of the Americans in repulsing the British fleet, greatly strengthened their cause at the south, and the loyalists rapidly decreased in numbers. Colonel Moultrie, who commanded the fort,* was universally applauded for his skill and bravery, and all concerned in the defence of Charleston received the grateful thanks of the Colonists.†

All thoughts of reconciliation being banished from the minds of Americans, it seemed to be the dictate of true wisdom, as well as sound policy, to declare to the world in unequivocal terms, their solemn intentions concerning the then teeming present, and the future. Abject submission, or complete independence, formed the alternative, and of course the Colonists chose the latter. While from the beginning of serious discontents more than ten years before, some of the leading minds of America had conceived the feasibility and the necessity of political independence, yet down to the year 1775, this idea was not generally prevalent or popular among the great mass of the American people.‡ They were strongly attached

* The fort itself received but little injury, being constructed of the *palmetto*, whose soft fibre received the balls of the enemy without material effect.

† Sergeant Jasper, on seeing the staff of the American flag cut by a ball, sprang after it to the ground, fastened it to the rammer of a cannon, mounted the parapet, and in the face of the hot fire of the enemy, hoisted it anew. Rutledge, the President of the Colony, presented him with a sword.

‡ The following extract from the writings of Dr. Timothy Dwight, for many years President of Yale College, in Connecticut, is corroborative of this assertion. He was a tutor in that institution in 1775, and afterwards a chaplain in the army, attached to Putnam's division. "In the month of July, 1775, I urged, in conversation with several gentlemen of great respectability, firm whigs, and my intimate friends, the importance, and even the necessity, of a declaration of independence

to the mother country, and not sufficiently disenthralled from the sectional jealousies which had obtained between widely-separated Colonies, to make an independence which must have the union of all for a basis, greatly to be desired. But the course of events had been such that there was hardly a choice left them. The separate action of the various Colonies in their opposition to British authority, had been so signally enstamped with the impress of concordance and concert, that the British ministry plainly perceived a strong union, before the provinces had taken a single step towards such a consummation. But the affairs at Lexington and Concord, Ticonderoga and Breed's Hill, with a facile plastic hand, moulded public opinion in favor of Union and Independence. Popular assemblies, like that at Mecklenburg, began to utter aspirations for an entire severance from British rule; and the press, with its thousand

on the part of the Colonies, and alleged for this measure, the very same arguments which afterwards were generally considered as decisive; but found them disposed to give me and my arguments, a hostile and contemptuous, instead of a cordial, reception. Yet, at this time, all the resentment and enthusiasm awakened by the odious measures of Parliament, by the peculiarly obnoxious conduct of the British agents in this country, and by the recent battles of Lexington and Breed's Hill, were at the highest pitch. These gentlemen may be considered as representatives of the great body of the thinking men in this country. A few may, perhaps, be excepted, but none of these durst at that time openly declare their opinions to the public. For myself, I regarded the die as cast, and the hopes of reconciliation as vanished; and believed that the Colonists would never be able to defend themselves unless they renounced their dependence on Great Britain."—*Dwight's Travels in New England*, vol. i., p. 159.

We cannot forbear, in this place, making one or two extracts from a Valedictory Address delivered by this profound thinker, to a class in Yale College, in September, 1775. After speaking of the natural advantages and political progress of America, he says:—"In the next place, I beg leave to remark, that this empire is commencing at a period when every species of knowledge, natural and moral, is arrived to a state of perfection, which the world before never saw. Other kingdoms have had their foundations laid in ignorance, superstition and barbarity. Their constitutions were the offspring of necessity, prejudice, and folly. Even the boasted *British constitution* is but an uncouth *Gothic pile*, covered and adorned by the elegance of modern architecture. The entailments of estates, the multitude of their sanguinary laws, the inequality of their elections, with many other articles, are gross traces of ancient folly and savageness. American empire is designed for more illustrious scenes, and its birth attended with more favorable circumstances. Mankind have, in a great degree, learned to despise the shackles of custom and the chains of authority, and claim the privilege of thinking for themselves. Every science is handled with candor, fairness, and manliness of reasoning, of which no other age ever could boast. At this period our existence begins; and from these advantages, what improvements may not be expected!"

He took a brief survey of the idle, ignorant, and besotted character of the people of Mexico, and then uttered this prophetic sentence:—"This concise but very just account of them must necessarily convince us, that the moment our interest demands it, *these extensive regions will be ours;* that the present race of inhabitants will either be exterminated, or revive to the native human dignity *by the generous and beneficent influence of just laws and rational freedom.*"

tongues, spake forth the mighty truth that "all men are created free and equal," and that the governor and the governed have alike rights inalienable.*

When, in the spring of 1776, intelligence was received of the declaration of the King and Parliament, that the Americans were *rebels*, and that preparations were in progress for sending a large army of mercenary troops here to enslave them, the Colonists felt impelled, by necessity, to adopt decided measures, and agree upon united action in establishing and vindicating a national character. Congress, therefore, by a unanimous vote resolved: "That it be recommended to the respective assemblies and conventions of the United Colonies, where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs hath been hitherto established, to adopt such government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general."† [a] May 10.

Meanwhile the convention of North Carolina [b] empowered their delegates to join with others in establishing independence. That of Virginia went a step further, and *instructed* theirs to propose it; and the people of Boston expressed their willing concurrence. Thus instructed, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, offered a resolution in Congress,[c] declaring "That the United Colonies are, and ought to be, free and independent States;—that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown;—and that all political connexion between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." [b] April 22. [c] June 7.

This bold proposition to dismember the British empire and to give birth to a new nation, was received by Congress with great anxiety and not a little opposition. For two days [d] the debate upon it was very warm, and elicited all the eloquence and ability of that august body; and finally, having been adopted by a bare majority, the further consideration of the subject was postponed until the first of July. Virginia and six other Colonies had spoken out in favor of Independence; but six others, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, were silent, and it was deemed expedient to delay the matter awhile. Meanwhile, a committee was appointed by Congress‡ and instructed to prepare a DECLARATION, in accordance with the spirit [d] June 8th, 9th.

* In January of this year, appeared the famous political pamphlet written by Thomas Paine, entitled "Common Sense." It is an able production, and it had a powerful influence in giving a bias to the popular mind in favor of independence.

† Journals of the Continental Congress, vol. ii., p. 166.

‡ Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston.

of the resolution. They reported a draft on the twenty-eighth of June,* which was laid on the table till the first of July. On that day, in Committee of the Whole, nine States voted for independence. The Assemblies of Pennsylvania and Maryland refused their concurrence; but conventions of the people having been called, majorities were at length obtained, and on the fourth of July, votes from all the Colonies were procured in its favor. By this act, the thirteen United Colonies declared themselves "free and independent States," having "full powers to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do." And in the support of that declaration, and expressing a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, they mutually pledged to each other their "lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor."† From that day the word Colony is not known in our history.‡ It was signed on the second of August, by all the Members of Congress then present, and by some who were absent on the fourth of July, the day of its adoption. The number who signed it was fifty-six.§

There were many considerations of great weight attached to the act of signing that instrument, by which a mighty empire was dismembered, and a new nation came into being and took its place among the political families of the earth. It was treason against the home government, yet perfect allegiance to the law of right; it subjected those who signed it to the danger of an ignominious death, and it entitled them to the profound reverence of a disenthralled people. It commenced the experiment of self-government, attempts at which had before been made, succeeded by decided failures. In view of the dark side of the picture, it required great firmness and decision of character. These were not wanting, as the signatures well attest. All are written with a firm hand, except that of Stephen Hopkins, an aged man afflicted with the palsy.‖

The Declaration was everywhere received with demonstrations of approbation. Processions were formed; cannons were fired; bells were rung; orations were pronounced, and everything which delight could suggest, was exhibited. In New York, during the celebration of the

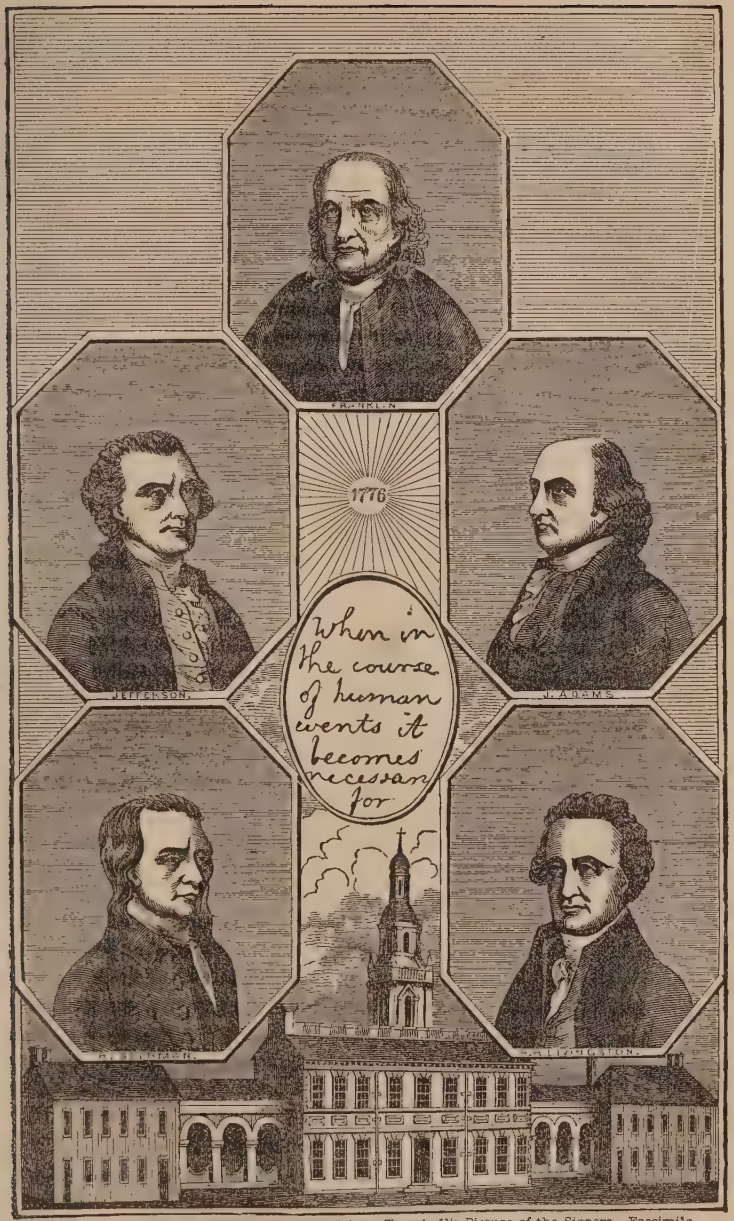
* It was written by Thomas Jefferson.

† See Appendix, Note VI.

‡ On the ninth of September, Congress adopted the following resolution: "That in all Continental commissions where heretofore the words '*United Colonies*' have been used, the style be altered for the future to the '*United States*.' About this time the red ground of the American flag was altered to thirteen blue and white stripes, as an emblem of the thirteen Colonies united in a war for liberty.

§ Pitkin, vol. ii., p. 346; Goodrich, p. 171; Marshall, vol. ii., p. 468.

‖ See Appendix, Note VI.



Portraits of the "Independence Committee:" from Trumbull's Picture of the Signers.—Facsimile of the handwriting of the original draft.—View of Independence Hall as it appeared in 1776. P. 196.

event, the statue of George III. in Bowling-green was pulled down, and, its composition being lead, it was cast into bullets. A copy of the Declaration was received by Washington on the ninth of July, and at six o'clock that evening the regiments of his army were paraded, and the document was read aloud in the hearing of them all. It was greeted with the most hearty demonstrations of joy and applause.*

After this declaration of independence and positive war, a large party of Americans remained attached to the royal cause, and by internal operations did more to retard the progress of the States towards the position of real and acknowledged independence, than all the fleets and armies of Britain. To a great extent, particularly at the south, these tories or royalists maintained a sort of conservative character, and abounded principally among the landed proprietors. They felt none of the oppressions which commercial restrictions laid upon the inhabitants of cities and sea-ports, and they were content to have things as they were. They condemned the Revolutionists and refused to take up arms against them for precisely the same reasons—for their opinions and conduct; they did not wish to exchange their peaceful labors for the hardships of the field, and hence when the British commander counted upon these domestic allies, they refused to serve. In New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the Crown found numerous supporters, and it has even been asserted, that among the agricultural population, these formed a numerical majority, and acts against the patriots which they dared not commit openly, were diligently performed in secret.†

General Howe with his Boston army, left Halifax in June,[a] and came to anchor off Sandy Hook on the twenty-fifth, and on the second of July took possession of Staten Island. He there expected to meet his brother, Admiral Lord Howe,‡ with

[a] June 11.

* Sparks's Life of Washington (1 vol.), p. 169.

† In New York, a deep plot, originating with Governor Tryon, still on ship-board in the harbor, was defeated by a timely and fortunate discovery. The agents of the Governor were found enlisting men in the American camp and enticing them by offers of reward, to seize General Washington and convey him to the enemy. The infection spread to a considerable extent, and even reached the General's guard, several of whom enlisted. A soldier of the guard was proved guilty by a court-martial, and executed, and the plot was broken up.—*Sparks* (1 vol.), p. 169.

‡ Lord Howe came in the capacity of a commissioner, authorized to offer to the Americans terms of accommodation, before commencing hostilities. He was a man greatly esteemed for his many virtues and humane disposition. In Parliament, a few nights before he left for America, he said, with much feeling, and deprecatory of the plan of hiring mercenaries to slaughter the Americans:—"I know no struggle so painful as that between a soldier's duties as an officer and as a man. If left to my own will, I should decline serving; but if commanded, it becomes my duty, and I shall not refuse."—*Pic. His. of the Reign of Geo. III.*, vol. i., p. 248.

the main body of the fleet, destined to operate against the Americans, and conveying the new army of English and Hessian troops. He was to be joined also by the squadron of Sir Peter Parker, and the forces of General Clinton. But none of these parties were there, and it was the twelfth of July before Lord Howe arrived, about which time Clinton also joined them from the south. Their united forces amounted to about twenty-four thousand fighting men, the best troops of Europe, which, with others expected soon to arrive, made the number with which the Americans were threatened, about thirty-five thousand men. The design of the British was to seize New York with a force sufficient to keep possession of the Hudson River, open a communication with Canada, separate the Eastern from the Middle States, and then make an easy conquest of the surrounding country.

Whilst General Howe was awaiting the arrival of his brother, he sent two ships, one of forty, and the other of twenty guns, up the Hudson River, preparatory to the execution of his ulterior designs. They sailed up to the Tappan Zee, a broad expansion of the river about thirty miles from the city, where they remained safe from annoyance from the shore.

Washington, in the meanwhile, was making vigorous efforts for defence.* Not being positive whence he might first be attacked, and suspecting it might be from Canada, he strengthened all the approaches to the city of New York. The vicinage of the British troops on Staten Island to Long Island, made him anticipate a landing there, and he prepared for its defence also. He formed strong lines at Brooklyn, and fortified the heights which command the harbor of New York.

The American army consisted of about twenty-seven thousand men, but so many were invalids and unprovided with arms, that Washington had but little more than seventeen thousand effective soldiers.

Before proceeding to hostilities, Lord Howe sent ashore circular letters, acquainting the Americans with his delegated discretionary powers, both civil and military, giving him authority to grant pardons to all such as were willing to return to duty and allegiance to the British crown, and declaring that any province or town that should accept of the terms of accommodation should be immediately relieved of the operation of the restrictive commercial acts of Parliament. He also offered rewards to those who should aid and assist in restoring order and tranquillity.

* He erected a fort on the north part of York Island, which was named Fort Washington, and another on the Jersey shore, nearly opposite, first called Fort Constitution and afterwards, Fort Lee.

These papers Washington instantly forwarded to Congress, and their contents were speedily circulated in the newspapers, throughout every Colony, accompanied by comments indicative of indignation and disdain. Howe then despatched Adjutant-General Paterson[a] to New York, with letters addressed to Washington, offering terms of accommodation.* Not recognising as legal the rank Washington held, he superscribed his letters "To George Washington, Esq."† These letters, thus directed, Washington very properly refused to receive, stating as a reason, that, whoever had written them, they did not express his public station; and that he could not, as a private individual, hold intercourse or communication with the enemies of his country.‡ Colonel Paterson assured Washington that no personal disrespect was intended, and stated that the Howes were commissioned by the King, with the very best intentions, to offer terms of accommodation. But Washington replied that they were only empowered to grant pardons, which the Americans did not stand in need of, and thus the conference ended.

[a] July 20.

Finding it impossible to make the olive branch, so disfigured by parasites of royal growth, acceptable to the Americans, the British general resolved to draw the sword at once. Accordingly, on the twenty-second of August, Howe put his troops in motion on Staten Island, and threw forward a division of four thousand men under General Clinton, who landed upon the southern shore of Long Island, near the villages of New Utrecht and Gravesend. Their landing being well covered by three frigates and two bombs, it was effected without opposition. This division was soon followed by the rest of the army, and having divided into three columns, they commenced their march towards the American camp at Brooklyn, then under the command of General Putnam.

About this time the convention of New York called out the militia of four counties, who, to the number of three thousand, assembled at King's Bridge, under the command of General George Clinton. Three thousand also came from Connecticut. Two battalions of riflemen from Pennsylvania, one from Maryland, and a regiment from Delaware, also joined the army, while Washington constantly sent

* Howe had authority to "grant pardons to such as deserved mercy." The Americans assured his lordship that having committed no fault in opposing the tyrannies of Britain, they therefore needed no pardon.

† This was the second time that he had thus addressed letters to Washington.

‡ In a resolution approving of this course of the Commander-in-chief, Congress directed that "no letter or message should be received on any occasion whatever from the enemy, by the Commander-in-chief or any other officer of the American army, but such as shall be directed to them in the character they respectively sustain, and with their military rank."

reinforcements to Putnam, Sullivan, and Brigadier-General Lord Stirling, who were in command of the Americans on Long Island.*

A range of hills, covered with thick wood, running from the Narrows to Jamaica, separated the two armies. The position of the Americans was well secured on the land side by redoubts and entrenchments, running along from Wallabout Bay to Gowanus Cove. They were defended on the water side by batteries at Red Hook, Governor's Island, and other points. The British army occupied the plain extending from the Narrows to Flatbush. General Grant commanded the left wing near the coast; De Heister, with the Hessian troops, the centre, and Sir Henry Clinton the right.

About three o'clock in the morning, on the twenty-seventh of August, a report reached the Americans that the British were in motion on the road leading along the coast from the Narrows. A detachment under Lord Stirling was immediately ordered out to meet them. General Sullivan was sent to the heights just above Flatbush, where there was only one regiment, and a little to the north of it, two others, on the Bedford road. Meantime, General Clinton, with Earls Percy and Cornwallis, led the right wing of the British army, by a circuit, into the Jamaica road, which was not guarded, and gained the rear of the American division under Sullivan. Before this was accomplished, reinforcements had been sent from the camp at New York, to support both Sullivan and Stirling. The attack was begun at an early hour, by Grant and De Heister, but with little spirit, for they were ordered not to advance till Clinton should reach the left flank or rear of the Americans. As soon as it was known by the sound of the guns that this was effected, they pushed vigorously forward, and the action became general and warm in every part. The troops under Lord Stirling fought with signal bravery, contesting every foot of ground against a greatly superior force, till Cornwallis, with a detachment from Clinton's division, came upon their rear, brought them between two fires, and compelled them to retreat within their lines across a creek and marsh near Gowanus Cove. General Sullivan, with the regiments on the heights above Flatbush, being attacked by De Heister on one side, and Clinton on the other, after making an obstinate resistance for three hours, was obliged to surrender. As the grounds were broken and covered with wood, the action in this part was conducted by skirmishes, and many of the troops forced their way through the enemy's line, and returned to Brooklyn. After the battle was over,

* General Greene at first commanded on Long Island, but falling sick, he was, for a short time, succeeded by Sullivan, and at length, by Putnam. The number of Americans upon Long Island at that time was about twelve thousand.

General Howe encamped his army in front of the American lines, intending to carry them by regular approaches, with the coöperation of his fleet.*

It was a disastrous day for the Americans. They lost nearly twelve hundred men,† about a thousand of whom were captured. Generals Sullivan, Stirling, and Woodhull, were among the prisoners. The loss of the British was less than four hundred. The whole number actively engaged was about five thousand Americans, and about fifteen thousand of the enemy.‡ The bravery of the American troops, particularly those under Lord Stirling, was highly commended, and greatly astonished the disciplined Hessians, who had been taught to regard them as insubordinate and undisciplined cowards. During the action General Washington crossed over to Brooklyn. He is said to have witnessed the rout and slaughter of his troops with the keenest anguish, as it was impossible to detach others to their relief without exposing the camp to imminent danger. A heavy rain the next day kept the main body of the enemy in their tents, yet slight skirmishing near the lines took place. The probability that the ships of the fleet would sail into the East River with the first favorable wind, and thus cut off all communication between the camp and the forces at Brooklyn, rendered it hazardous in the extreme for the Americans to attempt longer to maintain that post. Besides, some of the ships had already passed round Long Island and were in Flushing Bay; and it was expected that General Howe designed to transport a part of his army across the Sound, and form an encampment above King's Bridge,§ thus jeopardizing York Island, and requiring the aid of the troops at Brooklyn for its defence. These considerations determined Washington to call a council of war, and the result was a resolution to withdraw the troops from Brooklyn.‖

On the morning of the twenty-eighth, the enemy encamped in front of the American lines, designing to delay further action until they should obtain the coöperation of the fleet. Washington took advantage of this delay, and on the night of the twenty-ninth, having procured boats, he silently crossed the East River with all his troops, artillery, and stores, and landed them in safety in New York. This occupied several hours, and it was daylight before the last boat left

* When the news of the battle of Long Island reached England, the King conferred the honor of knighthood on General Howe, and he became Sir William Howe.

† This is the number stated by Washington in his despatches to Congress. General Howe stated the number to be three thousand three hundred.

‡ Goodrich.

§ At the north end of York Island.

‖ Sparks's Life of Washington (1 vol.), pp. 177–9.

Brooklyn; but a dense fog so completely obscured them, and so silently had the retreat been performed, that the British, parties of whom were stationed within six hundred yards of the American lines, had no suspicions of their movement. To their utter astonishment, when the mist dispersed on the morning of the thirtieth, not an American was to be found at Brooklyn. This retreat, so well planned, and perfectly executed, has scarcely a parallel in history.

It is said that so intense was the anxiety of Washington at that time, and so unceasing were his exertions, that for forty-eight hours he did not close his eyes, and rarely dismounted from his horse.*

Immediately after this victory on Long Island, Lord Howe, as one of the King's pacificators, made another attempt at negotiation. He admitted General Sullivan to his parole, and sent him to Philadelphia with a verbal message to Congress, the purport of which was, that, although not authorized to treat with Congress, as such, it being an illegal assembly, yet he was desirous of conferring with some of its members as private gentlemen only, whom he would meet at any place they might appoint; that, in conjunction with his brother, General Howe, he had full power to compromise the dispute between America and Great Britain; that he desired to effect this before further hostilities should take place; that, in case Congress should be disposed to treat, many things not yet asked for, might be granted; and if, upon the conference, there should seem to be a good ground for accommodation, the authority of Congress might be acknowledged, and a definitive reconciliation effected. To this Congress sent a reply by Sullivan, that, being the representatives of free and independent States, they could not, with propriety, send any of their members to confer with his lordship in their private capacity; nevertheless, they would send a committee to inquire into his authority to treat with persons authorized by Congress, and to hear such propositions as he should think proper to make. Instructions were sent to General Washington at the same time, that no propositions for peace ought to be received, unless directed in writing, to the representatives of the United States; and to inform those who might make an application for a treaty, that Congress would cheerfully conclude a treaty of peace whenever such should be proposed to them as representatives of an independent people.

Doctor Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, were appointed by Congress to confer with Lord Howe, whom they met for that purpose on Staten Island.[a] † The interview

[a] Sept. 11.

* Marshall, vol. ii., p. 509; Howe's Narrative, pp. 4–5.

† The house in which this interview was held, is still standing. It is an ancient

was distinguished by courtesy and good feeling on both sides. Lord Howe had nothing new to offer besides what had already been communicated to Congress through General Sullivan; and, as he declined conferring with the committee except as private gentlemen, he being unauthorized to recognise Congress as a legal body, the conference terminated without effecting anything. The commissioners absolutely refused to entertain any propositions, except they were made to them as the representatives of a free and independent people. Lord Howe expressed his distress because of the obligation now resting upon him to take severe measures against the Americans, whom he so kindly regarded. Doctor Franklin assured him that the Americans would endeavor to lessen, as much as possible, the pain he might feel on their account, by taking the utmost care of themselves.* Thus ended the interview—war or absolute independence were the only alternatives the Americans chose to recognise.

General Howe now took measures to drive the Americans out of the city of New York. He made preparations to have troops landed from the ships on opposite sides of the upper part of the Island, while the main body of the fleet entered the harbor and took a position nearly within cannon-shot of the city. By this arrangement the Americans would be hemmed in, and be obliged to evacuate the city, or suffer the privations and dangers of a siege from a far superior force.

Washington viewed these preparations with some alarm, for he saw no chance of coping successfully with such a body of thoroughly disciplined troops, and felt unwilling to jeopardize the safety of his army. He therefore called a council of war,[a] and

[a] Sept. 12.

looking stone edifice, situated near the water, on the extreme west end of Staten Island, and is known as the "Billop House." It was built upwards of a century ago, by Captain Billop, of the British Navy. He accepted a Colonel's commission when the Revolution broke out, and joined the army of Lord Howe when he took possession of Staten Island.

* Franklin and Lord Howe were personal acquaintances, having been first introduced to each other at the house of a sister of his lordship, on Christmas day, 1774. This lady had been made acquainted with Franklin for the purpose of ascertaining from him, if possible to do so, during social conversation, the real designs of America, and the future plans of the Colonists. It was supposed that in the freedom of social intercourse with a lady and her family, the caution which so much distinguished that statesman would be somewhat relaxed, and that inadvertently he might drop the secret. She and her brother flattered him, and pretended to take the part of the Americans, by condemning the conduct of ministers, and especially their petty spite as manifested in his dismissal by them from the office of Postmaster General. But Franklin was not to be cajoled, and he had seen too much of the duplicity of partisans to give much credit for sincerity of sympathy coming from such a quarter; and when their interview ended, Lord Howe and his sister were as much in the dark respecting American affairs, as they were before the introduction.

recommended an immediate withdrawal of the troops. To this, however, many of the officers objected, and proposed leaving a garrison of five thousand men in the city, while the main body should occupy a strong fort at King's Bridge. But perceiving the British army slowly enclosing them on all sides, a total evacuation was determined on, and with great activity they commenced removing the artillery and stores far above, on the western shore of the Hudson. The Commander-in-chief retired to the Heights of Harlem, and a force of nine thousand men were stationed at Mount Washington, King's Bridge, and the smaller posts in the vicinity, while about five thousand remained in the vicinage of the city. The residue were placed between these extreme points, to act at either place as occasion might require.*

On the morning of the fifteenth three ships of war ascended the Hudson as far as Bloomingdale, and at the same time, General Clinton, with a strong division of the British army, consisting of British and Hessians, landed at Kipp's Bay, on the East River, under the fire of two forty gun ships and three frigates, and attacked the American batteries erected there. Hearing the cannonading, Washington left Harlem and hastened with all despatch to the place of landing, where, to his great mortification, he found the troops (eight regiments in all) retreating without firing a gun; and also two brigades sent to their relief, flying in the greatest confusion. He endeavored to rally them, but in vain, and they continued their retreat until they reached the main body of the army at Harlem.

The division in, or near the city, under the command of General Putnam, retreated with great difficulty, leaving behind them their heavy artillery and stores. Fifteen of the Americans were killed, and three hundred taken prisoners. The British entered the city without much loss, and took formal possession of it,[a] to the great joy of the tories; but they had hardly become quiet

[a] Sept. 14.

* Washington was extremely anxious to know the intended future operations of the enemy, and, at the suggestion of Colonel Knowlton, he requested Captain Nathan Hale, who commanded a company of Connecticut militia, to go as a spy into the British camp, and learn as much as possible, what operations were in preparation. Hale was a young man just past his majority, and with all the ardor of youth, he undertook the dangerous enterprise. He had succeeded admirably, and started to return to camp, when he was recognised by a tory cousin of his, and at once arrested. The proof of his object was clear, and he frankly acknowledged it. Howe gave orders for him to be hung the next morning, which order was faithfully executed by the bloody Provost-marshal, in the most unfeeling manner. He was refused the attendance of a clergyman; refused the use of a Bible for devotion; and the letters which he wrote to his mother and other friends, on the morning of his execution, were destroyed, and the reason assigned was, "that the rebels should not know that they had a man in their army who could die with so much firmness!"

before a fire broke out,[a] which raged until it destroyed about a third of the city.* [a] Sept. 15.

Having organized a temporary government, General Howe left some troops in the city, and with the main body of his army, marched up York Island and encamped near the American lines,[b] with his front about a mile and a half from the Heights of Harlem; his right leaning on Horen's Hook, on the East River, his left on Bloomingdale, on the North River; so that his line extended quite across the Island. On the sixteenth, a skirmish took place between advanced parties of both armies, in which the Americans gained a decided advantage, though with the loss of two gallant officers, Colonel Knowlton and Major Leitch. This event greatly revived the drooping spirits of the Americans. [b] Sept. 21.

After spending about three weeks in fortifying the city, General Howe placed a larger part of his army into flat-boats and sent them up the East River, through the pass of Hell Gate,† to a point called Throg's Neck, at the lower extremity of Westchester, where they were landed.[c] The Americans were there to receive them, and broke down the bridge that connected the little island with the main land. Howe accordingly reëmbarked his troops and landed higher up, at Pell's Point, and advanced upon New Rochelle. The object of this movement was, to gain the rear of the American army, and cut off their connexion with the Eastern States. At the same time, three frigates were despatched up the Hudson to interrupt the American communications with the New Jersey shore, where a considerable portion of their stores was secured. Washington readily perceived the designs of the enemy, and at once withdrew all his troops from York Island, except a force of three thousand men under Colonel Magaw, in garrison at Fort Washington, on the Hudson. [c] Oct. 12.

Having crossed the Harlem River at King's Bridge, he extended

* The origin of this conflagration is disputed. At the council of officers it was proposed to fire the city, rather than have it fall into the hands of the British; justifying the act by the fact that the largest proportion of the property belonged to tories. British writers charge the conflagration upon the American soldiers, and some even go so far as to assert that some of the incendiaries were caught, and put to the sword, or thrown into the flames. But this is not proven; and the account given by Washington, and also by Gordon, is doubtless correct; that amid the rejoicings and revelry of the troops on their entry, the flames broke out in an obscure tavern in the most crowded quarter, and from the same circumstances they spread for some time unchecked.—*Gordon*, vol. ii., p. 331; *Washington's Letters*, vol. ii., p. 246.

† *Helle-gat* was the name given by the Dutch to the whirlpool in the East River, nearly opposite the upper end of York Island. The latter was purchased of the Indians in 1637, by Wouter Van Twiller, for a trifle.

his line along the western bank of the Bronx River, towards White Plains, keeping his left constantly in advance of the right of the enemy. On the nineteenth and twentieth there was some skirmishing, and a sharp combat ensued at a narrow pass, which the Americans vainly attempted to defend. On the twenty-first, Washington occupied some heights near New Rochelle. On that day, Howe received a reinforcement of a fresh division of Hessians under General Knyphausen, and part of a regiment of cavalry from Ireland.*

On the twenty-second Washington fell back to White Plains, and on the twenty-eighth, a partial action was fought there which resulted in the repulse of the Americans, with some loss. During the night of the thirty-first, Washington retired to the heights of North Castle, about five miles north of White Plains, but Howe discontinued further pursuit, and directed his attention to the American posts on the Hudson, with a view of crossing the river and penetrating into New Jersey, thus changing the seat of war to a less defensible territory. His first step was to attack Fort Washington, on York Island. Colonel Magaw, the commander, was disposed to evacuate it and save the garrison; but General Green, who commanded at Fort Lee, opposite, insisted that the garrison, if hard pushed, could, at any time, withdraw and cross the Hudson, and therefore advised resistance until the last moment. On the sixteenth of November Howe attacked Fort Washington with a large body of British and Hessians; and Lord Percy having carried the advanced works, the garrison saw that longer resistance was vain, and laid down their arms. Washington had sent word to Colonel Magaw, that if he would hold out till evening, he should have reinforcements, but this he was unable to do. The whole garrison, consisting of nearly three thousand men, became prisoners of war. The British lost nearly a thousand men in this assault.

Washington, in the meanwhile, having first secured the strong positions in the vicinity of the Croton River and at Peekskill, crossed the Hudson with the main portion of his army, and encamped at Hackensack, New Jersey, whence he reinforced General Green at Fort Lee.

Immediately after the capture of Fort Washington, Lord Cornwallis crossed the Hudson[a] at Dobb's Ferry, with six thousand men, and attacked Fort Lee. The Americans, to save themselves, were obliged to make a hasty retreat, leaving behind them their cannon, tents, and stores, which fell into the hands of the victors. The garrison joined the main army, and for three weeks the

[a] Nov. 18.

* The British force now amounted to about thirty-five thousand men; the Americans from eighteen to twenty thousand.

Americans fled across the level country of New Jersey, before the pursuing enemy, at the end of which time, a bare remnant of it remained. The troops, dispirited by late reverses, left in large numbers as fast as their terms of enlistment expired, and returned to their homes, and by the last of November, the American army numbered scarcely three thousand troops, independent of a detachment left at White Plains under General Lee. The country was so level that it afforded no strong positions to fortify; indeed, so necessarily rapid had been the retreat, that no time was allowed for pause to erect defences. Newark, New Brunswick, Princeton, Trenton, and smaller places, successively fell into the hands of the enemy, and so hot was the pursuit that the rear of the Americans was often in sight of the van of the British. On the eighth of December Washington crossed the Delaware in boats, and Cornwallis arrived at Trenton just in time to see the last boat reach the Pennsylvania shore. The Delaware was the only barrier between the British army and Philadelphia, where Congress was in session; and Howe apparently only awaited the freezing of the river to enable him to march over and capture that city. He arranged about four thousand troops along the river from Trenton to Burlington, and strong detachments occupied Princeton and New Brunswick.

It appears from Howe's despatches,* that instead of pursuing the Americans further, he had formed a plan to divide the Eastern States from the others, and thus interrupt their necessary union in the warfare. He contemplated marching north to Albany, where he would meet Burgoyne from Canada, and thus form a connected barrier from New York to that province. But better counsels prevailed, and he yielded to the opinion of Cornwallis, that by possessing himself of Philadelphia, and retaining what he had in possession in New York and New Jersey, he could as completely separate the Eastern and Southern divisions of the States, and with far less danger of failure. This "halting between two opinions" on the part of Howe, satisfactorily accounts for his not continuing the pursuit of Washington across the Delaware, and seizing Philadelphia. Such a course, it has been justly remarked, would have heightened the panic with which the late defeats and present flying retreat of their army, had struck the Americans.

General Lee, whose great military abilities and skill none doubted, and in whom the country reposed great confidence, was left at White Plains in command of a detachment of the army. Washington wrote to him from Hackensack, requesting him to lead his division

* Parliamentary Register, vol. xi., pp. 260–362.

into New Jersey. He did not heed the request; and finally the Commander-in-chief gave him a positive order to that effect, which was often repeated. Lee gave various excuses for delay, and finally, when he did move, his marches were so slow that he was three weeks reaching Morristown. The secret of this tardiness and disobedience probably was, that he hoped to make a successful descent upon New York, or execute some other brilliant feat, for he was as ambitious as he was impetuous and brave. But while on his march, he lodged one night near Baskingridge, about three miles from his camp, with a small guard, when a tory in the neighborhood gave notice of his position to the enemy, and early in the morning[a] a company of light-horse under Colonel Harcourt surrounded the house and took him prisoner.* The command of his division devolved on General Sullivan,† who marched it to the main army. Four regiments, under General Gates, soon after arrived from Ticonderoga.

[a] Dec. 13.

The general expectation that the British would cross the Delaware as soon as the ice should become sufficiently firm, and take possession of Philadelphia, caused Congress to adjourn to Baltimore.[b] General Putnam took the command of the militia in Philadelphia, and began to construct fortifications from the Delaware to the Schuylkill.

[b] Dec. 12.

About this time a joint proclamation of Lord Howe and General Howe was issued, offering pardon to all who should accept of it within sixty days, and take an oath of allegiance. So great was the panic and so dark the prospect, that great numbers accepted the proffered terms. The last day of the year was near at hand, when the terms of enlistment of many of the old troops would expire, and under the present gloomy pressure of events, Washington saw nothing ahead but the almost total dissolution of his army. Still he was firm.‡ He wrote to Congress a letter,[c] portraying in strong colors the destitution and decrease of his army, and the stern necessity of taking measures to re-enlist those in the service, and induce others to join. He alluded, in pretty plain terms, to the tardiness of Congress, and justified his plainness by the exi-

[c] Dec. 20.

* The fact of his having tardily obeyed the orders of his commander, and his lodging at a private house so far from his army, awakened in the minds of many the suspicion that his capture was voluntary. But, as Sparks justly observes, there was no just ground for such a conclusion, for nothing ever proved him inconstant to the best interests of his adopted country.

† Sullivan had recently been exchanged for a prisoner of similar rank in the hands of the Americans.

‡ When asked what he would do if Philadelphia should be taken, he replied:—"We will retreat beyond the Susquehanna River, and thence, if necessary, to the Alleghany Mountains."—*Sparks* (1 vol.), p. 206.

gencies of the case. He concluded his letter by saying, "A character to lose, an estate to forfeit, the inestimable blessings of liberty at stake, and a life devoted, must be my excuse."

This letter had due effect upon Congress, and, by a formal resolve, Washington was empowered to raise sixteen battalions in addition to eighty-eight already voted by that body, and they also empowered him "To order and direct all things relating to the department, and to the operations of war." This unlimited power in that sphere was conferred for six months—he was in fact made a *Military Dictator*. It was a fortunate event for America, and the wisdom of the measure was soon seen and felt. The increased pay of officers, the bounties offered, and the great personal influence of the Commander-in-chief, had the effect to retain in the service for a few weeks at least, more than one half of the old soldiers, and quite a large number of new recruits were speedily added, the enlistment service of whom was to extend, some for a limited period, and some during the war. By great exertions, he mustered between five and six thousand men, and then conceived the bold design of recrossing the Delaware, and attacking the enemy, then in complete possession of the Jerseys.* At Trenton were about fifteen hundred Hessians and a troop of British light-horse; and smaller detachments were stationed at Bordentown, Burlington, Black Horse, and Mount Holly.

Washington arranged to cross the river in three divisions. General Cadwallader was to cross at Bristol, and march to Burlington; General Ewing was to cross a little below Trenton, to intercept the retreat of the enemy in that direction; while the Commander-in-chief, with twenty-four hundred men, was to cross nine miles above Trenton, to make the principal attack. But Generals Cadwallader and Ewing were unable to pass, on account of the floating ice. Washington alone succeeded.

On the night of Christmas the bold expedition was undertaken. Owing to the great quantities of floating ice, the crossing was not accomplished until about three o'clock in the morning,[a] at which time there was a considerable fall of snow. The troops were formed into two divisions, commanded by Generals Sullivan and Greene, under whom were Brigadier-Generals Stirling, Mercer, and St. Clair. Washington was with the division led by General Greene.

[a] Dec. 26.

About eight o'clock in the morning the enemy was attacked at two

* Adolphus (an English writer) claims for Arnold the merit of conceiving this bold design. Upon what authority he hazards the assertion, does not appear, but there is not the least shadow of probability that such was the case, for Arnold was at that time with the northern division of the army, under General Schuyler.

points simultaneously, by these two divisions. The surprised Hessians, after a slight skirmish, attempted a retreat to Princeton, but were intercepted, and finding themselves hemmed in on all sides, were obliged to lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners of war. Between thirty and forty Hessians were killed, among whom was Colonel Rahl, the commanding officer. The Americans had ten killed and wounded. The number of prisoners was nearly one thousand, and the spoils consisted of six brass field-pieces, a thousand stand of arms, and considerable ammunition. As the enemy were still in his vicinity and superior to him in numbers, Washington deemed it prudent to recross the Delaware into Pennsylvania, with all his prisoners, on the same day, which was accomplished at evening. The British and Hessian troops at Bordentown retreated to Princeton, and thus the whole line of the cantonments of the enemy was broken up.

This brilliant and successful feat of arms greatly surprised the British commander, and inspired the Americans with renewed courage. Only a week before, General Howe was waiting for the freezing of the river to enable him to take quiet possession of Philadelphia, and Lord Cornwallis, by permission, was about to sail for England. He was immediately ordered back to New Jersey with additional troops, and all the British forces assembled at Princeton, for the purpose of making an attack upon Washington, who had again crossed the Delaware and took post at Trenton, with a view of attacking the enemy at his general rendezvous. General Heath, stationed at Peekskill, on the Hudson, was ordered to join him with the main body of the New England forces; and the militia from the surrounding country, flocked to his standard in considerable numbers. Upwards of three thousand Pennsylvania militia, under Generals Cadwallader and Mifflin, formed a junction with the main army on the thirtieth.

On the day that Washington crossed the Delaware, the British took possession of Rhode Island. Admiral Sir Peter Parker and General Clinton, with four brigades of English and some Hessian troops, on board a numerous squadron, had commenced an expedition along the New England coast, and this was their first prize. It was a loss of great importance to the Americans, yet it cost the British a great deal to retain possession of it. For three years, a large number of men were kept for its defence, in perfect idleness. The enemy also took possession of the islands Conanicut and Prudence, and for a long time kept the small American squadron, under Commodore Hopkins, blocked up in Providence River.

Meanwhile, the small American force on the borders of Lakes

Washington crossing the Delaware. P. 212

Champlain and George, were not idle. General Schuyler had command of the whole northern division of the army, assisted by Adjutant-General Gates, who, in June, was made a Brigadier-General, and appointed to the command of the forces in Canada. Congress also voted Gates a reinforcement of six thousand men, and with these he was to attempt in Canada to retrieve the severe losses of the previous year.

It was deemed necessary to maintain the command of the lakes. The Americans had fifteen small vessels upon the two lakes, while the British had not a single boat. The vessels of the former carried, in all, ninety-six guns, fourteen of which were eighteen-pounders, twenty-three twelves, and the rest six and four-pounders. This squadron was placed under the command of the intrepid Arnold, who, at the beginning of the year, had been appointed by Congress a Brigadier-General. With it he effectually commanded the lakes and the military posts upon their shores, and prevented a desired union of the British forces in Canada with those at New York and its vicinity. Governor Carleton having received intelligence of the contemplated expedition of Gates, perceived the necessity of taking active measures to secure the command of the lakes and the important posts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. He immediately sent about seven hundred men from Quebec to construct a fleet, and, as if by the wand of magic, a force sufficient to sweep the lakes was put in motion in the course of a few weeks.*

On the eleventh of October, Arnold arranged his squadron in a line across the passage between the Isle Vallicour and the western shore of the lake, and soon after, the battle was opened by the "Carleton" attacking the American line. The engagement continued four hours, and the wind was so unfavorable that the other vessels of the English fleet could not aid the Carleton. More than half of her crew were killed and wounded. The Americans lost their largest brig by fire, and considering it dangerous to await a second engagement at that time, Arnold sailed with his vessels towards Crown Point. The English at once pursued them, and overtaking them before they reached their place of destination, another severe engage-

* They consisted of the "Inflexible," of three hundred tons burden (launched, rigged, and equipped for service, in twenty-eight days), carrying eighteen twelve pounders; two schooners, the "Maria," and the "Carleton;" the "Loyal Convert," a gondola; the "Thunderer," a kind of flat-bottomed craft, carrying twelve heavy guns, and two howitzers; and twenty-four boats, armed each with a field-piece, or carriage-gun. Captain Pringle was Commodore, and the "Inflexible" his flag-ship. Among the young officers of the "Carleton" was Edward Pellew, afterwards Admiral Viscount Exmouth, one of the most distinguished of English naval commanders.—*Pic. His. of the Reign of Geo. III.*, vol. i., p. 479.

ment took place. Perceiving it probable that his vessels would fall into the hands of the enemy, Arnold ran them ashore and set fire to them. The American forces then withdrew from Crown Point to Ticonderoga; but General Carleton, instead of following up his success and capturing the latter fortress, as he probably could have done, put his forces into winter-quarters at Isle Aux Noix, and returned to Quebec.* General Schuyler having sufficiently garrisoned the fort, retired to Albany, while Gates, as we have seen, joined Washington upon the banks of the Delaware.

During the spring, English agents were busy among the Creek, Cherokee, and Chickasaw Indians, inciting them, by promises of ample plunder, not only to join the royal standard against the Americans, but to attack the defenceless inhabitants of the frontiers of Virginia and the Carolinas, hoping thereby to weaken the American army by the necessary employment of large numbers of the militia in the protection of those regions. Too well they succeeded in their atrocious mission, and hundreds of innocent old men, women, and children, were butchered in cold blood!

While these various belligerent events were in progress, Congress was assiduously engaged in strengthening the military arm, and in forming a general provisional government, legislative and executive, with properly-defined powers, upon a basis that should promise permanency and efficiency. They also took advantage of the hostile feelings of France, Spain, and Holland, towards Great Britain; and directed their attention towards them for aid. In the early part of this year, Silas Deane was sent by Congress as a sort of American Agent, to reside near the Court of France. He performed his assigned duties with eminent success; and during the summer, found means to obtain from the royal arsenals and other places, fifteen thousand muskets, which he sent to America. He also obtained men and money, and abundant serious promises of future aid.

After the Declaration of Independence, Congress thought it expedient to send men possessing greater authority, and accordingly they appointed an embassy to the Court of France,[a] consisting of Doctor Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Silas Deane. Jefferson excused himself, and Arthur Lee was appointed in his place. He and Franklin reached Paris on the thirteenth of December, and at once entered industriously upon the execution of their commission.

[a] Sept. 26.

* During the stay of Carleton at Crown Point (where he remained till the third of November), young Pellew came very near capturing Arnold. Having ventured upon the lake in a boat, he was observed and chased so closely by the midshipman, that, when he reached the shore and ran off, he left his stock and buckle in the boat behind him.—*Ostler, Life of Admiral Viscount Exmouth.*

Articles of Confederation proposed.

As early as July, 1775, Doctor Franklin submitted to Congress a sketch of Articles of Confederation between the Colonies, to continue until their reconciliation with Great Britain, and in failure of that event, to be perpetual. On the twelfth of June, 1776, a committee consisting of one from each Colony, was appointed to prepare and digest a form of confederation, but their report was laid aside,[a] and not resumed till April, 1777. Yet the cause in which the thirteen States were engaged, and the fearful issues at stake, in which all were equally interested, formed a sufficient bond of union to bind them all in a close tie of affiliation, and Congress found but little impediment in the exercise of its powers, from the jealousies arising from the assumption of State rights. Like Minerva, starting, full-armed, from the brain of Jove, Congress was the spontaneous offspring of the great patriot heart of America, and found itself, by general will, possessed of unrestricted powers. And these powers, at the close of 1776, so far as military operations were concerned, were delegated to Washington, on whom all eyes were bent, all hopes reposed. It was a gloomy hour for America, and clouds and darkness were gathering thick on every hand. Yet that immortal man stood up amidst these despondences, like a firm tower of strength, and, leaning upon the arm of that Providence which had so signally protected him in times past, he felt confident of success, for he knew the cause was a righteous one. He saw sunny spots in the future, and his day visions were all pictures of glory and happiness near at hand for his bleeding country.

[a] Aug. 20.

The "Billop House"—Staten Island.

EVENTS OF 1777.

General Philip Schuyler—Lieutenant-General J. Burgoyne—General Horatio Gates.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERALS Mifflin and Cadwallader, with the forces at Bordentown and Crosswicks, joined the division under Washington at Trenton, on the night of the first of January. The whole effective American force did not then exceed five thousand men. Cornwallis was at Princeton, and mustering all his army, advanced a large detachment against Washington on the afternoon of the next day.[a] The Americans immediately withdrew to the opposite side of the Assumpinck Creek, which runs through the town, and commenced

[a] Jan. 2.

throwing up entrenchments preparatory to a battle. The enemy attempted to cross in several places. During the whole afternoon a considerable skirmishing took place, and just at nightfall there was some cannonading. Finding the fords well guarded, the British General considered it prudent to wait for reinforcements, which were in the vicinity, and deferred an attack upon Washington's lines until the next day.

The strong force of the enemy, and his great facility for reinforcements, convinced Washington that a battle would be very hazardous. The Delaware was so full of floating ice, that if he should be repulsed, it would be almost impossible for him to retreat across the river, and the total destruction of his little army would be the inevitable result. Influenced by these considerations, he conceived another bold design, and promptly put it into execution. During the dark night of the second of January, while the enemy were in repose, he silently withdrew his army from Trenton, leaving a few men at work with pickaxes, and the camp fires kindled, for the purpose of deceiving the British sentinels into the belief that the Americans were busily engaged in throwing up their entrenchments. Just before dawn, these men left their work and hastened to the army, then on a rapid march towards Princeton with the design of attacking and defeating the force left there by Cornwallis, and then to proceed to New Brunswick, the chief depôt of the enemy, and seize the military stores deposited there. But two British regiments were on their march to join Cornwallis at Trenton, and met Washington a mile and a half from Princeton. It was a very foggy morning, and at first the enemy mistook the Americans for Hessians. The mistake was soon discovered, and a hot skirmish ensued. The commander of the British troops sent to Princeton for the other regiment, which was soon on the spot, and after a battle of more than an hour, the American militia wheeled and fell back in great confusion. General Mercer, in attempting to rally them, was mortally wounded. Washington, perceiving the rout of the vanguard, and feeling that all hopes for the salvation of the army now depended upon restoring order, pushed forward at the head of his division, rallied the flying troops, separated the enemy, and obliged them to retreat in various directions. The English lost in killed and prisoners, about four hundred men, and the slain of the Americans was about one hundred. The brave General Mercer was universally beloved by the army and highly esteemed by Washington, and therefore his loss was greatly deplored.

[a] Jan. 3. At break of day[a] Cornwallis, to his great astonishment, perceived that the Americans had deserted their camp, and

at once penetrating their designs upon Brunswick, sped hastily to that place, to protect his stores. His van reached Princeton about the same time that the American rearguard did, and Washington found himself again in a perilous situation, for his men were completely exhausted.* He at once made the prudent resolve to retreat towards the northern and mountainous part of New Jersey, and finally halted at Morristown and established his head-quarters there, where he could find shelter and repose for his little army. Cornwallis probably deemed it unwise to pursue the Americans, and therefore pushed on to New Brunswick, where he found General Mathews busily engaged in removing the baggage and warlike stores.

Meanwhile, Washington, having given his army some rest, entered the field again in an offensive attitude, and in a short time overran the whole country from there to the Raritan. He even crossed that river and took possession of Newark, Elizabethtown, and Woodbridge, and thus commanded the whole coast in front of Staten Island. The British army, meanwhile, was restricted in its operations to the lower sections of New Jersey, and the proud enemy, who a few weeks before were driving the Americans before them, sweeping the whole country, from the Hudson to the Delaware, with victorious march, and frightening Congress away from Philadelphia, now only occupied a line from New Brunswick to Amboy, and held a footing in New Jersey by a feeble tenure.

The mercenary Hessians, whose sole gratification and interest seemed to be plunder, had treated the people of all parties in New Jersey with unfeeling cruelty, and committed outrages which only the most barbarous nations would be willing to sanction.† The decrepitude of old age, the defenceless virtue of woman, and the innocence of little children, were regarded as naught when weighed in the scale of their acquisitiveness and lust. These enormities, which English writers have only excused but not denied, were soon instrumental in destroying the loyalty of tories; and when the victorious arm of Washington gave earnest of success, the people made common cause against the invaders. In small parties they scoured the country in every direction, suddenly falling upon the outposts of the enemy here, and cutting off stragglers there,‡ and thus the winter

* For two days preceding they had no rest, and after the battle at Princeton had ended, they actually fell down through the overpowering influence of sleep. They were almost naked, and constantly endured the torments of hunger, while the enemy had everything in abundance.

† The British troops were not far behind them in these scenes of violence.

‡ At Springfield between forty and fifty Germans were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, by New Jersey militia; and General Dickenson, with a small force, defeated a foraging party of more than six hundred men, near Somerset Court House

passed, while both the Commanders-in-chief were preparing for the next campaign; Washington at Morristown, and General Howe in New York.

During the lull in military operations which took place in February and March, Washington occupied a portion of the interval in inoculating his whole army with the small-pox, which had made dreadful ravages in some quarters, and had begun its work of death in his camp at Morristown. In this he was eminently successful, and very soon disarmed that subtle enemy of nearly all its terrors.

General Howe's plan for the next campaign was extensive, and, if he had possessed activity and a numerical force sufficient, might have been eminently successful, for it was well conceived. He determined to leave a sufficient detachment in New Jersey to protect the strip of territory he then held there, while one expedition was to ascend the Hudson and capture the immense depôt of stores in the vicinity of Peekskill, where still remained a detachment of the American army under General Heath; and another expedition was to land at Rhode Island, after devastating the coast, and from thence push on to Boston. These expeditions were planned in expectation of a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men from Europe in the spring.*

[a] March 23. Towards the last of March,[a] Howe sent a powerful armament up the Hudson to capture or to destroy the military stores at Peekskill. In this they succeeded. The Americans, finding themselves threatened with an overwhelming force, set fire to their magazines and retreated. About the same time, General Lincoln, who was stationed at Boundbrook, in New Jersey, was surprised in his camp by the sudden appearance of Cornwallis marching his forces on both sides of the Raritan River. Lincoln retreated with the loss of part of his baggage and about sixty men.

Elated with this success, a similar expedition was undertaken upon the borders of Connecticut. Tryon, the late royal Governor of New York, who fled on board the "Asia" ship of war after hearing

* Parliament assembled on the thirty-first of October, and after several stormy debates, they finally voted large supplies for the army in America, and also entered into negotiations for more German troops. They also issued "Letters of Marque," for the purpose of reprisals on the American waters. Chatham took an active part in the debates, and strenuously opposed the scheme for employing more German troops. "You have," said he, "ransacked every corner of Lower Saxony; but forty thousand German boors can never conquer ten times the number of British freemen. You may ravage—you cannot conquer the Americans. . . . . You have got nothing in America but stations. You have been three years teaching them the art of war. They are apt scholars, and I will venture to tell your Lordships that American gentry will make officers enough to command the troops of all the European powers. What you have sent there are too many to make peace, too few to make war."

of the evacuation of Boston by Howe, was placed in command of two thousand troops, and proceeded to the execution of a commission exactly suited to his taste and ability—sacking and burning peaceful and defenceless towns, and plundering the people. He sailed with his troops from New York on the twenty-fifth of April, and landed between Fairfield and Norwalk, in Connecticut; and on the following day[a] reached Danbury without interruption. A small garrison under the command of Colonel Huntington, perceiving resistance vain, retired to a stronger position in the rear of the town. On Sunday morning[b] Tryon ordered the town to be burnt, and in a short time many of the houses were laid in ashes, and the magazine was entirely destroyed.

[a] April 26.

[b] April 27.

The loss was very severe to the Americans, for among the property destroyed were several hundred tents, which the army greatly needed, and materials for more could not be procured.* This event aroused the whole country, and the militia assembled in large numbers, in the vicinity of Danbury. General Arnold, who happened to be in the neighborhood, engaged in recruiting men for the service, hastened to join them. General Wooster, who held the rank of Brigadier, arrived about the same time from another quarter, with Connecticut troops, and the English, observing this addition to the American force with alarm, began a retreat by way of Ridgefield. The Americans endeavored to intercept them, and Wooster with his force hung upon their rear, frequently engaging them in skirmishes. In one of these, Wooster was mortally wounded, and died soon after being carried off the field.† Seeing their commander fall, his soldiers fled in confusion.

Arnold took the command, and in the meantime got possession of Ridgefield, and constructed a sort of entrenchment to cover his front. He was soon attacked by the English, and a hot skirmish ensued for some time.‡ The Americans were finally repulsed and fled in haste to Paugatuck, three miles from Norwalk. Tryon remained at Ridgefield that night, and having satisfied his brutality by setting fire to several houses, in the morning[c]

[c] April 29.

* They burned eighteen houses, sixteen hundred barrels of pork and beef, six hundred barrels of flour, two thousand bushels of wheat, rye, and Indian corn, two thousand tents, and a considerable quantity of military clothing. Nothing was spared but the houses and other property of the tories.

† General Wooster was then nearly seventy years of age, but was as actively engaging in the service of his country as if he had but just passed the years of adolescence. Congress resolved that a monument should be erected to Wooster, and testified their satisfaction towards Arnold by the gift of a horse richly caparisoned.

‡ During this engagement Arnold had his horse shot under him, and while trying to extricate himself, was charged with a fixed bayonet by a tory soldier. He drew his pistol and shot the soldier dead.

marched towards the Sound. He was harassed by Arnold all the way, and before he was able to embark was obliged to engage in several skirmishes. During this expedition the British lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, nearly three hundred men. The American loss was much less.

About this time the Connecticut Generals were informed that an immense magazine of forage, grain, and other necessaries for the troops, had been formed by the British at Sag Harbor, on Long Island. They at once planned an expedition to destroy it, and sent Colonel Meigs, one of Arnold's companions in the expedition to Canada, to execute the dangerous commission. He arrived there before dawn,[a] burned a dozen brigs and sloops which lay at the wharf, and entirely destroyed everything on shore. He then, without loss, returned to Guilford, in Connecticut, with a number of prisoners. Congress ordered an elegant sword to be presented to Colonel Meigs for his gallant conduct on this occasion.

[a] May 23.

Strange inaction characterized the British army during the spring. Instead of commencing operations early, and thus taking advantage of the still small force under Washington, it was near the middle of June before General Howe thought it expedient to open the campaign. Washington, in the meanwhile, was gradually increasing his army at Morristown, and awaiting the development of the plans of the enemy. He suspected Howe's intentions to be either to direct his first movements towards the Delaware, and attempt to capture Philadelphia, or to seize the passes of the Hudson, and thus form a conjunctive coöperation with General Burgoyne, then mustering a large army in Canada, to invade the States from the north. With a view of preventing the success of either movement, the northern forces of the Americans were concentrated on the Hudson, and a strong division under Arnold was encamped on the western shore of the Delaware. Thus disposed, the whole of the forces could be soon brought together, to act at either point, as occasion might require.

Towards the last of May, seeing no movement on the part of General Howe, Washington broke up his encampment at Morristown, and marched to Middlebrook, a strong position within ten miles of the British camp at New Brunswick, and covering the route to Philadelphia from Howe's head-quarters in New York.

On the twelfth of June, General Howe, with the main division of his army, passed over from New York, and concentrated nearly all his forces at New Brunswick. The American army, which numbered about eight thousand men when Washington left his head-quarters at Morristown, was now swelled to about fourteen thousand. General Howe, after remaining in front of the Americans two days,

and reconnoitring their camp, concluded it was too strong to be attacked with success, and he resolved to effect by strategy what he could not accomplish by force,—get Washington away from his strong post. For this purpose he advanced, rapidly, with nearly his whole army, towards Somerset Court House, feigning a design to cross the Delaware.[a] Failing to draw Washington from his post by this manœuvre, he made another feint, a few days afterwards, which succeeded better. He suddenly retreated first towards Brunswick,[b] and then to Amboy,[c] and even sent some detachments over to Staten Island. Partly deceived by these movements, and hoping to reap some advantage by harassing the British rear, Washington sent strong detachments after the retreating enemy, and also advanced with his whole force to Quibbletown, five or six miles from Middlebrook. This was what General Howe desired, and accordingly, on the night of the twenty-fifth, he suddenly recalled his troops from Staten Island and Amboy, and early the next morning marched rapidly towards the American lines, hoping to prevent their retreat back to Middlebrook, and thus bring on a general action. But Washington was too vigilant for him, and with the greatest celerity reached his strong position at Middlebrook again. Lord Cornwallis pursued a detachment under Lord Stirling for some distance, and finally, an engagement took place, which resulted in routing the Americans and driving them to their camp. Other skirmishes took place,[d] but with little loss on either side.

[a] June 14.
[b] June 19.
[c] June 22.
[d] June 26.

Finding it useless to attempt to dislodge Washington, or to cross the Delaware, and seeing the militia flocking to his standard in large numbers, General Howe again withdrew all his forces to Amboy, and finally passed over a bridge of boats to Staten Island with his entire army, leaving the Americans in full and quiet possession of New Jersey.[e]

[e] June 30.

General Howe, having abandoned all idea of forming a junction with Burgoyne, turned his attention towards Philadelphia. Fearing to attempt to cross the Delaware, he resolved to proceed thither by the way of the Chesapeake, and thus avoid the forts on the Delaware. The British fleet, under Lord Howe, was then lying at Sandy Hook, and the Commander-in-chief ordered it to Staten Island, where he embarked about eighteen thousand troops,[f] and sailed for Philadelphia. He left General Sir Henry Clinton with a large force to defend New York, and on the twenty-third of July appeared off the Capes of Delaware.

[f] July 5.

As soon as Washington received intelligence of the embarkation of the British troops, he felt quite sure that their destination was

up the Hudson River. This belief was strengthened by the report that General Burgoyne had appeared with a large force in the vicinity of Ticonderoga, and Washington ordered General Sullivan with a detachment to cross the Hudson and encamp in the rear of Peekskill. Lord Stirling was also ordered to cross and join General Putnam, who guarded the heights at that place;* and other measures were taken to prevent the passage of the British army up the Hudson.

Washington, however, soon learned the destination of General Howe, and immediately put the main body of his army in motion towards Philadelphia.[a] A few days previous to this,[b] an event occurred which greatly elated the army. Major-General Prescott, who commanded the British forces on Rhode Island, believing himself perfectly secure at the head of a powerful army, and within sight of a numerous fleet, had taken quarters some distance from his camp and with few guards. On the night of the tenth of July, Colonel Barton, with forty picked men, left Warwick Point on the main land, in five whale boats, landed quietly upon the Island, marched silently to the lodgings of General Prescott, seized him in bed, conducted him safely through the midst of his own troops on land, and the vessels of the fleet, and reached the main land before he was missed! The Americans thus became possessed of an officer of equal rank with General Lee, for whom they offered him in exchange, but were refused.† Congress honored Barton with the gift of an elegant sword.

[a] July 23.
[b] July 10.

The British fleet, having sailed up the Chesapeake, reached Elk River on the twenty-fifth of August, where the troops were landed, and immediately commenced their march towards Philadelphia. In the meanwhile, Washington had moved the main body of his army

* Whilst General Putnam occupied this post, a spy by the name of Palmer, from General Clinton's camp at New York, was caught and brought in. Governor Tryon, then with Clinton, demanded his release. General Putnam answered the demand as follows:—

"*To Governor Tryon:*—Sir—Nathan Palmer, a lieutenant in your service, was taken in my camp as a spy; he was tried as a spy; he was condemned as a spy; and you may rest assured, sir, he shall be hanged as a spy.

"I have the honor to be, &c., ISRAEL PUTNAM.

"P.S.—Afternoon—He is hanged."

† The British Commander-in-chief refused to exchange Lee, on the ground that he was a deserter from the English army, having served in Portugal under Burgoyne, and also under General Amherst, in America. He therefore was not considered a prisoner of war, and the general expectation was, that he would be shot. Congress, on hearing of this refusal, directed Washington to inform General Howe that five Hessian field-officers, then prisoners, and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, who, just after Howe evacuated Boston, sailed in, and, with three hundred men, was made prisoner, should be placed in confinement, and receive precisely such treatment as might be given to Lee.

to Germantown, to await certain information of the destination of General Howe. During a suspense of two or three days, he took the opportunity of conferring with Committees of Congress at Philadelphia, and it was at that time that he had his first interview with the young Marquis de La Fayette.* The numerous applications of foreigners to Congress for leave to join the army, caused the first overture of this young nobleman to be rejected by that body; but when, by a letter to Hancock, he assured them he desired to join it as a *volunteer*, and *without pay*, it was so extraordinary that he was accepted. As soon as Washington arrived in Philadelphia, he was introduced to him, and during the interview, the accomplishments, enthusiasm, and evident patriotism of La Fayette made a very favorable impression upon the mind of the Commander-in-chief. He was appointed by Congress a Major-General † in the army, and was invited by Washington to become a member of his military family, which position he maintained during the war.

Not hearing of the British fleet, Washington determined to return to the banks of the Hudson and attack New York, or march against Burgoyne, now advancing with a large army in the direction of Albany; but on the very day he was to march, intelligence arrived of the landing of Howe near Elk River. He immediately recalled his detachments from New Jersey, and with his whole force marched to Wilmington. Advance parties from each army soon met, and several skirmishes took place, during which the Americans captured about sixty prisoners.

As the British army approached, Washington took post upon the high ground near Chad's Ford, on the river Brandywine. His right wing, under Sullivan, was posted so as to guard the fords above, and the Pennsylvania militia, under General Armstrong, were stationed about two miles below. Thus prepared, the Americans awaited the attack of the enemy.

At daybreak on the morning of the eleventh of September, Howe put his army in motion in two divisions; one under Knyphausen, taking the direct road to Chad's Ford; the other, led by Cornwallis, moving along the Lancaster road, which ran nearly parallel with the Brandywine River. Sir William Howe was with this division. The action commenced by Colonel Maxwell attacking Knyphausen's

* The circumstances connected with the first impulses which led La Fayette to espouse the cause of the Republicans, and the patriotic manner in which he obeyed that impulse, are too well known to Americans to render a recital necessary here The names of Washington and La Fayette are so inseparably connected, that it seems to be a sort of treason against the just laws of patriotic sentiment for any American to be ignorant of the life of either.

† He then lacked one month of being twenty years of age.

advanced parties ; but he was soon repulsed. Knyphausen kept up a heavy fire of artillery, but made no attempt to cross the river, contented to send small bodies over for the purpose of skirmishing. His object was thus to occupy the attention of the Americans until Cornwallis should silently march round and attack their rear. Suspecting this, Washington sent patrols above, and he was soon informed by a message from General Sullivan, that a large division of the enemy was crossing the forks of the Brandywine. Washington immediately ordered Sullivan to push across the river and attack them, while he should perform the same service against Knyphausen. But it was too late, and about two o'clock Cornwallis gained the heights near Birmingham Meeting House, within two miles of Sullivan's flank. Sullivan immediately began to form his troops for action, but before he could accomplish it, he was furiously attacked by Cornwallis, his line was broken, the rest thrown into confusion, and he was obliged to retreat.

As soon as this firing was heard, Knyphausen crossed the river and assaulted the American entrenchments at Chad's Ford. He was met by General Wayne, who defended the post with his usual gallantry, but, at the head of a single division only, he was in no condition to withstand half of the British army. General Greene, with another division, had removed to a central point between Chad's Ford and Sullivan's scene of action, whence he could give support to either party, as circumstances might require. Covering Sullivan's retreat, and seizing a pass about a mile from Dilworth, he checked the pursuit of the enemy, and sustained a warm engagement until dark. The firing then ceased. The British remained on the field of battle, and the Americans retreated in much disorder by different routes, to Chester, and the next day[a] to Philadelphia.*

[a] Sept. 12.

According to Marshall, the British force in this engagement amounted to eighteen thousand men ; that of the Americans, to a little more than eleven thousand. The number of Americans slain is not accurately known, as Washington could not make a return to Congress. Howe states that there were three hundred killed, six hundred wounded, and four hundred taken prisoners.† He computes the British loss at ninety killed, four hundred and eighty wounded, and six missing.

* Sparks's Life of Washington (1 vol.), pp. 231–234. Howe's Narrative, pp. 26–27.

† Count Pulaski, a brave Polander, distinguished himself in this battle, and was soon after raised to the rank of a Brigadier-General. La Fayette was severely wounded in the leg, and disabled from active service for two months. He would, no doubt, have been made prisoner, had not his aide-de-camp, M. Gêmat, put him upon his horse and escaped.

After a few days' rest, notwithstanding the disparity of numbers, Washington resolved to risk another battle, and if possible, save Philadelphia. He accordingly recrossed the Schuylkill, and advanced against the enemy near Goshen, about eighteen miles west of Philadelphia. A violent rain storm,[a] which injured their powder, obliged both armies to defer the battle. General Wayne, who with fifteen hundred men had been ordered to harass the enemy's rear, was surprised at night[b] near Paoli, and three hundred of his troops were killed.

[a] Sept. 16.

[b] Sept. 21, 22.

Alarmed for the safety of his military stores and extensive magazines at Reading, Washington abandoned Philadelphia and took post at Pottsgrove. The next day[c] the British army crossed the Schuylkill; and on the twenty-sixth entered Philadelphia without opposition, and pushed forwards to Germantown. Congress, alarmed at the proximity of the British forces, had previously adjourned to Lancaster, where they remained until General Howe left the city.

[c] Sept. 22.

A large portion of the British troops were now employed in reducing the forts on the Delaware. General Howe had previously ordered the fleet to sail around the Capes and pass up the river to coöperate with him. They ascended as far as New Castle, but were there impeded by a chevaux-de-frise, and were obliged to remain there inactive for some time.

On the twenty-first of October, a detachment of Hessians, under Count Donop, crossed the Delaware, and attacked the fort at Red Bank; but they were repulsed with a loss of about four hundred men, among whom was the commander. Soon after, a gap having been made in the chevaux-de-frise, a part of the fleet passed through, but two of the vessels got aground, and were put in much jeopardy by two or three fire-ships sent down upon them by the Americans. One of the vessels was burned, but the others, with great difficulty, escaped.

On the fifteenth of November, the Americans were forced to leave the fortifications on Mud Island, and on the seventeenth, Lord Cornwallis, with a large force, marched against Red Bank, from whence the Americans at once retreated, and joined the main body of the army. The chevaux-de-frise was soon after removed, and the fleet had an unobstructed passage up the Delaware to Philadelphia.

While the British camp at Germantown was weakened by the absence of these several detachments on the Delaware, Washington resolved to attack it, and endeavor to re-obtain possession of Philadelphia. Accordingly, about seven o'clock in the evening of the

third of October, the Americans advanced in four divisions, and, after a march of fourteen miles, at day-break the next morning[a] took the British by surprise. A battle immediately commenced, and for a time victory seemed to tender the palm to the Americans; but finally, after a severe action, they were repulsed with great slaughter. They lost about twelve hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The British loss was not more than half that number. Soon after that, General Howe broke up his encampment at Germantown, and, with his whole force, took quarters in Philadelphia.

[a] Oct. 4.

When the Delaware was cleared, and there was a free communication for the British between New York and Philadelphia, by way of that river, General Howe determined to close the campaign by an attack upon Washington, then stationed at Whitemarsh, about eleven miles northwest from the metropolis. On the night of the fourth of December, Howe marched out of Philadelphia, and took post upon Chestnut Hill, in front of the American army, now reinforced by about four thousand men from the victorious battalions of the north. Howe found Washington's position too strong to risk a general attack, and, after a few days' skirmishing, he fell back upon Philadelphia again.

Washington now anxiously sought the most favorable place for his winter-quarters. He saw that if he encamped at Lancaster, York, or Carlisle, where his army would have comfortable quarters, he would leave a large and fertile territory entirely exposed to the enemy. He therefore resolved to make his quarters near enough to the capital to keep the British within strait bounds, and, if opportunity offered that seemed to promise success, to attack him in his camp. He selected a dreary, but strong position at Valley Forge, a deep hollow about twenty miles northwest from Philadelphia; and upon the mountainous borders of this valley the whole American army encamped, during one of the most rigorous winters ever experienced in this country. The American soldiers were too ill clad to admit of their passing the inclement season under tents, and Washington therefore ordered that a sufficient number of huts large enough to accommodate twelve men each, should be erected, made of logs, and filled between with mortar. So intensely cold was the weather, and so exhausted were the soldiers when they commenced their march towards Valley Forge, that some were seen to drop dead under the benumbing influence of the frost; others, without shoes, had their feet cut by the ice, and left their tracks in blood! But the huts were soon erected, and the whole army were comfortably lodged in these barracks. Of the subsequent hardships and great

Camp at Valley Forge. P 230

privations of this band of patriots during their encampment at Valley Forge, we shall again speak.

We now turn our attention to the operations of the northern division of the army. While the Commander-in-chief was suffering reverses upon the banks of the Delaware, the northern army, under Generals Schuyler and Gates, was achieving glorious victories. The reverses of the previous year had not at all dampened the ardor of the troops in that quarter, and, expecting the successes of the British in expelling the Americans from Canada at the close of 1776 would be followed up in the spring by an invasion, they had made preparations for such an event. Early in the year, Governor Carleton was superseded in his command of the British forces in Canada, by General Burgoyne, a brave and experienced officer; but the reasons for this act on the part of ministers are not known, as no censure seems ever to have been cast upon Carleton.* A plan was concerted by the ministry † by which Burgoyne, with a large force, was to penetrate the back settlements of New York, and form a junction with General Howe at the metropolis, and thus effect the plan contemplated by the British Commander-in-chief after his successful pursuit of Washington across the Jerseys at the close of the previous year.

Burgoyne arrived at Quebec on the sixth of May. Between the seventeenth and twentieth of June, his forces, consisting of a large body of veterans from England, about two thousand five hundred French Canadians, and as many Hessians, to the number of seven thousand two hundred men, exclusive of a corps of artillery, assembled at Cumberland Point, on Lake Champlain, and on the twenty-first, he was joined by about four hundred Indians of various tribes.‡ On the thirtieth, he left St. John,s for Crown Point, where he established magazines, and then proceeded to invest Ticonderoga.[a] By express orders of ministers, Burgoyne immediately put under arms, and secured for the British service, several tribes of Indians inhabiting the country between the Mohawk River and Lake Ontario.

[a] July 2.

* General Carleton felt very much aggrieved, and at once sent his resignation of the office of Governor of Canada to ministers. Still he was obliged to remain until the arrival of his successor, and with the most honorable and patriotic spirit, he rendered Burgoyne all the assistance in his power in the meanwhile. Burgoyne himself, testifies to "the assiduous and cordial manner in which the different services were forwarded by Sir Guy Carleton."—*Burgoyne's Narrative*, quarto, p. 6. London: 1780.

† It is believed that the plan was the joint invention of George III., Burgoyne, and Lord George Germaine.

‡ Algonquins, Iroquois, Abenekies, and Ottawas.

At the same time that Burgoyne* marched upon Ticonderoga, Colonel St. Leger was despatched with about two thousand men, mostly Canadians and Indians, by way of Oswego, against Fort Schuyler, on the Mohawk.† He was directed to conquer that fort, and then rejoin the army upon the Hudson River.

Before proceeding to attack Ticonderoga, Burgoyne gave a great war-feast to the Indians, and issued a proclamation calling upon the Americans to surrender, or suffer the consequences of savage ferocity.‡ General St. Clair was the commander of the garrison, which consisted of about three thousand men, and perceiving the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, withdrew from the fort to its immediate vicinity. He had previously fortified Mount Independence, a high hill opposite Ticonderoga, and on retiring from the fort St. Clair contemplated fortifying Mount Defiance also, but finding his numbers insufficient to garrison any new works, the design was abandoned.

The British lines were extended in front of the peninsula on which Ticonderoga was erected, and invested the place on the northwest, while the Hessians were posted on the opposite side of the lake, in the rear of Mount Independence. Perceiving the great advantage that would be secured by placing their artillery on the summit of Mount Defiance, the British generals at once commenced the labor of effecting this end. This was soon accomplished,[a] and the artillery was speedily placed in proper position for attack.

[a] July 5.

Resistance on the part of the Americans seemed rash, and St. Clair determined to evacuate the works and retreat to Skeenesborough. Accordingly he let his camp-fires go out, struck his tents, and amid the profound silence of the forest and the night, placed the baggage and provisions on board batteaux, and retreated. The accidental burning of a building on Mount Independence, discovered to the British the flight of the Americans, and they immediately gave chase. The batteaux, which were embarked on South River, were in a few hours overtaken and destroyed.[b] The main body of the army continued to retreat as the British approached, leaving behind them artillery and stores; but they were overtaken at Hubbardton§ on the morning of the seventh, by General Fraser, who had hotly pursued them all the way, a distance of about twenty

[b] July 6.

* Burgoyne had with him some of the best officers then in America. Major-General Philips, Brigadier-General Fraser, Brigadiers Powell and Hamilton, the Brunswick Major-General Reidesel, and Brigadier-General Specht.

† Situated on the site of the present village of Rome. It was first called Fort Stanwix.

‡ Pictorial History of the Reign of George III., vol. i., p. 307.

§ Within the limits of Vermont, and about seventeen miles southeast from Ticonderoga.

miles. A skirmish ensued, and the Americans were routed, with great loss, having two hundred killed, six hundred wounded, and two hundred taken prisoners. Soon after this, the remnants of the various divisions reached Fort Edward,[a] the head-quarters of General Schuyler. In these disastrous retreats and conflicts, the Americans lost nearly two hundred pieces of artillery, and a large amount of provisions and stores.

[a] July 12.

The British generals followed up their successes with vigor, and General Schuyler, whose force was reduced to about four thousand men, considered it prudent to evacuate Fort Edward and retreat towards the Hudson. Being well acquainted with the country, he retreated along the banks of the Hudson until he reached the islands situated at the mouth of the Mohawk, where he established his head-quarters. Here he was soon after reinforced by the New England militia under General Lincoln, and several detachments from the regular army, accompanied by the celebrated Polish General, Thaddeus Kosciusko, who in October,[b] 1776, had been appointed Chief-Engineer of the Continental army, with the rank of Colonel. By these reinforcements Schuyler's army was augmented, by the middle of August, to about fifteen thousand men.

[b] Oct. 18.

Burgoyne, having despatched General Phillips by the way of Lake George, towards Fort Edward, with the baggage and stores, proceeded in pursuit of the Americans across the country ; but Schuyler in his retreat had felled trees athwart the roads, destroyed the bridges, and thus so impeded his progress, that he did not reach Fort Edward until the thirteenth of July.* He now learned that a part of the original plan had been abandoned by Howe. Instead of marching

* Burgoyne was obliged to construct forty bridges on his route, and his batteaux had to be dragged from creek to creek by oxen. During the halt of the British army at Fort Edward, an incident occurred which greatly increased the odium justly cast upon the British ministry, because of their barbarous order for Burgoyne to form an alliance with the ferocious savages of the wilderness. A young lady named McCrea, represented as beautiful and accomplished, the daughter of an American loyalist, was, just previous to the war, affianced to a young English officer named Jones. He was with Burgoyne when he reached Fort Edward, and hearing that his intended bride was in the vicinity, he despatched a party of Indians with a letter and his horse, to bring Miss McCrea in safety to the camp, promising to reward them with a barrel of rum. The young lady unhesitatingly put herself under their protection, and set out for the British camp. On the way, two of the principal savages got into a dispute about which should present her to her lover, and receive the reward, when one of them killed her with his tomahawk to prevent the other from receiving it! The murderer was given up to Burgoyne, but, as a matter of expediency, the savage's life was spared. This bloody deed awakened a feeling of horror throughout the whole country, and many warm loyalists, deprecating the employment of these savages, abandoned the cause of the Crown and joined the Patriots.

up the Hudson, and joining him, he learned that Howe had retreated to Staten Island with the view of proceeding from thence by water, to capture Philadelphia. About a week before Burgoyne reached Fort Edward, the forces of Howe were off the Capes of Delaware.

Burgoyne now determined to await the arrival of St. Leger and General Phillips before commencing his march anew. Finding his supply of provisions greatly reduced, he despatched Colonel Baum,[a] a distinguished German officer, with between five and six hundred men, to Bennington, in Vermont, to seize upon a large quantity of stores which the Americans had collected there. This detachment was met near Bennington[b] by General Stark,* at the head of a large body of New Hampshire militia on their way to join the northern army, and a furious battle ensued. Baum was mortally wounded, and his party totally dispersed. Learning that the Americans were gathering in large numbers, he had previously sent to Burgoyne for reinforcements; but Colonel Breyman, who was sent with five hundred men, did not arrive at Bennington until the battle was over. Colonel Warner, who had just arrived with a Continental regiment, attacked this detachment, and defeated it. The loss of the British in these two battles was about seven hundred men (mostly prisoners), while the American loss was less than one hundred.

[a] Aug. 6.

[b] Aug. 16.

The intelligence of the result of the Bennington expedition, the first reverse the British had yet met with in this campaign, was a sad tale for the ear of Burgoyne; and in verification of the apothegm, "misfortunes seldom come single," he heard about the same time of the defeat of St. Leger. It was about the first of August that St. Leger reached Fort Schuyler, and commenced a siege. General Herkimer, hearing of the investment of the fort, at once raised the militia in the vicinity, to the number of about one thousand, and proceeded to the relief of the garrison.[c] Hearing of this movement, St. Leger despatched Sir John Johnson and a large body of Indians to form an ambuscade along the route which it was presumed General Herkimer would take. This plan was successful, and so sudden was the furious attack of the savages, that Herkimer, and nearly four hundred of his men, were killed

[c] Aug. 5.

* General Stark had been in the old French and Indian war, and was at Bunker Hill and Trenton. It is said that he greatly animated his troops a moment before the charge at Bennington, by shouting, with uplifted sword, "My fellow-soldiers, we conquer to-day, or Mary Stark sleeps a widow to-night!" He was the last surviving general of the Revolution, and died at Manchester, New Hampshire, in 1822, aged ninety-four years.

or wounded.* About the same time, Colonel Gansevoort, commanding the garrison, made a successful sortie from the fort. He penetrated the camp of the besiegers, killed a great many, and carried off a large supply of stores. Rumors having been received that Burgoyne's army was all cut to pieces, and that Arnold (which was true) was approaching with a considerable force, the savages, frightened, commenced deserting. St. Leger saw that a retreat was necessary, and he abandoned the siege. Arnold did not arrive at the fort until two days after the siege had been raised.

Burgoyne now found difficulties fast gathering around him. He was in the midst of a vast wilderness with enemies on every side, and feeling but little reliance upon his savage allies; his provisions were nearly exhausted, and he felt that he must soon conquer or surrender, for retreat was almost impossible. Accordingly, having collected his artillery and a supply of provisions for thirty days, he constructed a bridge of boats, and on the thirteenth and fourteenth of September, passed his whole army across the Hudson, and encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga. The American army under General Gates, who had recently been appointed to the chief command of the northern division, moved from their encampment at the mouth of the Mohawk, and pitched their tents near Stillwater, about twenty miles north of Albany, and on the west side of the Hudson. Here they were joined by about two thousand men under Arnold, making the force of the Americans about thirteen thousand strong. The two armies were now within about four miles of each other, and on the eighteenth, Burgoyne formed the British army close in front of the American left, determined to attempt the desperate effort of cutting his way through to Albany, and form a junction with the expected forces of Clinton.

General Gates had erected a star redoubt, and, notwithstanding he had an inferior force, he was determined to resist the further progress of the British southward to the utmost. At noon on the nineteenth, he sent out about five thousand men to make an attempt to fall upon Burgoyne's rear, but discovering the strong position of General Fraser, they fell back. Being reinforced, and led on by Arnold, they attacked the right wing of the enemy, and about three o'clock a general engagement ensued, which lasted till after sunset,

* The popular tradition among the people of the Mohawk Valley, concerning the death of General Herkimer, is, that being severely wounded in the leg, it was necessary to amputate it. This being done, and properly bandaged, the two surgeons in attendance having discovered some liquor in the cellar, drank of it until they were very drunk. The bandages got loose, and the blood began to flow freely, but the surgeons were too drunk to perform their duty, and, notwithstanding the efforts of Herkimer's wife to staunch the wound, he soon bled to death.

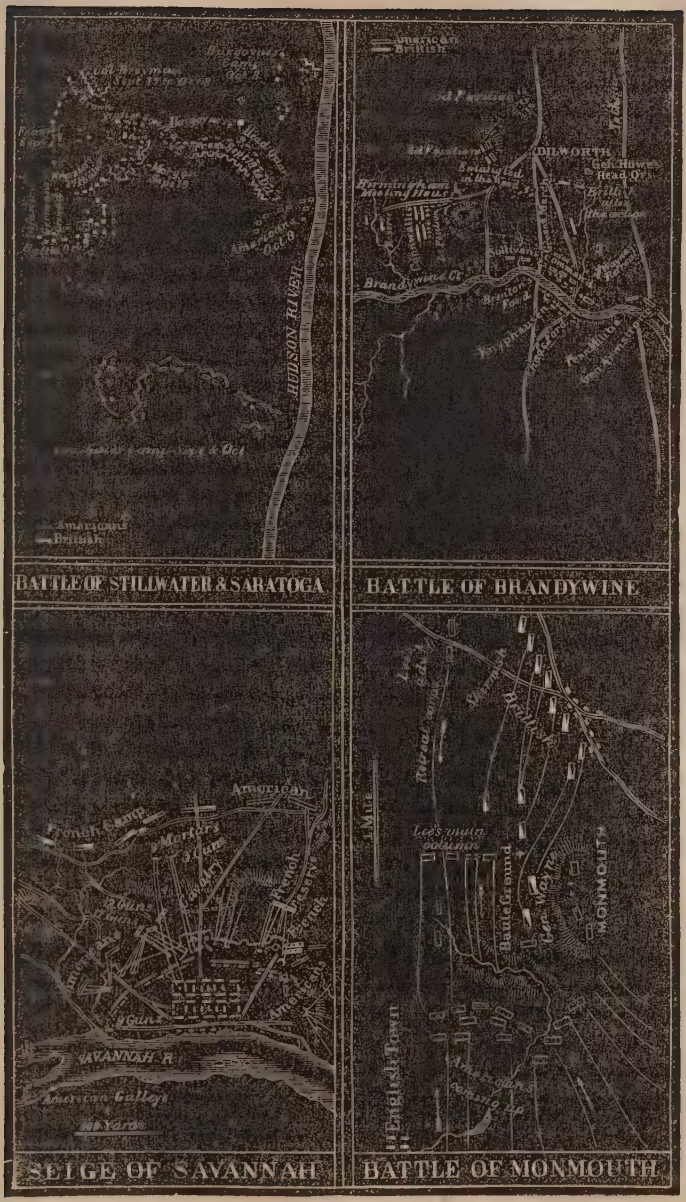
without intermission. At dark the contest ceased. The Americans retired within their redoubt, and the British reposed upon their arms on the field of battle. The loss in killed and wounded was nearly alike on both sides,* and each claimed the victory.

The two armies remained near to each other, from the day of the battle, until the seventh of October: Gates strengthening his position, and Burgoyne waiting to hear from Clinton. This delay was disastrous, for, in the meanwhile, he consumed nearly all his provisions. Howe was too much occupied with Washington, upon the Delaware, to bestow a thought upon Burgoyne. But General Clinton took the responsibility of affording aid, and informed Burgoyne that he would do what he could to effect a junction, by attacking forts Montgomery and Clinton, and others of less note, on the Hudson nearly opposite Peekskill. Relying upon this promise, Burgoyne agreed to remain in his position until the twelfth, hoping that Clinton would be successful, and by a rapid march, reinforce him by that time. But circumstances obliged him to move previous to that date.

General Gates having been joined also by General Lincoln, with about two thousand men, and finding his forces augmenting by fresh supplies of militia, determined to attempt the recapture of Forts Independence, George, and Ticonderoga, and to capture or destroy the provisions of the enemy, at various depôts, and thus cut off all his communication with Canada. Accordingly, an expedition under Colonel Brown was sent northward, and at the north end of Lake George they captured a sloop carrying provisions to Burgoyne, and soon after some other vessels fell into their hands. They then proceeded to take possession of Mount Hope and Mount Defiance, and attacked Ticonderoga. They were repulsed, however, and proceeded in the vessels they had captured to Diamond Island, where there was a considerable depôt of provisions, but were there also repulsed. They then pushed for the shore, burned the vessels, and returned to the rear of Burgoyne's army. This partial success caused other large bodies of Americans to collect along the line of Brown's expedition, and completely cut off all supplies of provisions for the British from the north. The soldiers were reduced to half rations, and the Indians, finding Burgoyne would not allow them to plunder, became dissatisfied, and deserted, whole tribes at a time.

Thus situated, Burgoyne found it necessary to make a movement for his own preservation. On the seventh of October, he sent out about fifteen hundred men to forage and reconnoitre. They advanced within half a mile of the left wing of the Americans, when

* The loss is variously stated, from three to six hundred on each side.


HUDSON R.
DILWORTH
Brandywine Ck.
Brandywine Ford
Chadd's Ford
Kennett Square
Birmingham Meeting House
Gen. Howe's Head Qr.
Gen. Knyphausen
Gen. Cornwallis
Gen. Wayne
Gen. Sullivan
Gen. Maxwell
Gen. Lincoln
Gen. Lee
Gen. Clinton
Gen. Dickinson
Gen. Scott
Gen. Varnum
Gen. Greene
Gen. Wayne
Gen. Morgan
Gen. Poor
Gen. Learned
Gen. Arnold
Gen. Gates
Gen. Burgoyne's Camp
Gen. Phillips
Gen. Fraser
Gen. Riedesel
Gen. Hamilton
Gen. Reed
Gen. Hand
Gen. Stark
Gen. Warner
Gen. Nixon
Gen. Glover
Gen. Patterson
Gen. Ten Broeck
Gen. Van Rensselaer
Gen. Van Cortlandt
Gen. Van Schaick
Gen. Van Dyke
Gen. Van Vechten
Gen. Van Wyck
Gen. Van Zandt
Gen. Van Buren
Gen. Van Rensselaer
Gen. Van Cortlandt
Gen. Van Schaick
Gen. Van Dyke
Gen. Van Vechten
Gen. Van Wyck
Gen. Van Zandt
Gen. Van Buren
AMERICANS
BRITISH
BATTLE OF STILLWATER & SARATOGA
BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE
SAVANNAH R.
American Gallys
Yards
French Camp
American
Markers 3 Guns
Redoubt
Redoubt No. 2
Redoubt No. 3
Redoubt No. 4
Redoubt No. 5
Redoubt No. 6
Redoubt No. 7
Redoubt No. 8
Redoubt No. 9
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Redoubt No. 94
Redoubt No. 95
Redoubt No. 96
Redoubt No. 97
Redoubt No. 98
Redoubt No. 99
Redoubt No. 100
SEIGE OF SAVANNAH
1 Mile
Lee's main column
Battle Ground
Parsonage
MONMOUTH
British Town
BATTLE OF MONMOUTH

Arnold sallied forth, attacked, and drove them back to their camp. In the meanwhile, Morgan and his riflemen stole round through the woods and opened a fire on the flank of the enemy's column, and other troops went out from the American entrenchments, and attempted to throw themselves between Burgoyne's column of fifteen hundred men, and his line, but were prevented by the grenadiers under Major Ackland. Burgoyne, however, was obliged to abandon six field-pieces which he took out with him, and retreated to his camp. The brave General Fraser attempted to dislodge Morgan and his men, but fell mortally wounded; and at this moment a general battle commenced all along the lines. From the British quarter, the Americans were repulsed, but they carried the entrenchments of the Germans, and completely routed them. About two hundred of them were taken prisoners, and several leading officers were killed, among whom was Colonel Breyman. The entire loss of the enemy was more than four hundred men; that of the Americans about eighty.

On the night after the battle,[a] Burgoyne retired to the high ground a little above Stillwater, and finally, with his whole army, retreated to Saratoga,[b] and endeavored to continue his retrogression to Fort Edward. He was obliged to leave behind him about three hundred sick and wounded, which were taken care of in the best manner, by General Gates.

[a] Oct. 7, 8.
[b] Oct. 8, 9.

On the ninth, Burgoyne received intelligence from Sir Henry Clinton, of his operations among the lower Hudson highlands, and he was in hourly expectation of seeing an attack upon the American rear by British troops, which he doubted not were then as far north as Albany.* This expedition was one inducement for him to delay his attempted retreat towards Fort Edward. Despairing of the arrival of Clinton, he made preparations to continue his retreat northward, on the right bank of the Hudson, and endeavor to reach Fort George, on the southern end of the lake of that name. But he was met by strong detachments of Americans at Fishkill, a small creek a little northward of Saratoga. Finding himself unable to retreat to Fort George by the right bank of the river, he determined to abandon his artillery, place about three days' provisions in the knapsacks of his soldiers, cross the river, dash through the American lines drawn out upon the opposite side, and, by this sudden movement, make his escape to the lakes, and reach the British shipping upon them.

Burgoyne, however, learned that the Americans were too strongly entrenched on the opposite side of the river, to render the success of his plans in the least probable, and he endeavored, as a last resort,

* Burgoyne's Narrative, p. 16.

to tempt the Americans out from their entrenchments, and engage in battle, notwithstanding his army was greatly reduced—a mere skeleton of what it was when he invested Ticonderoga. Finding his provisions exhausted, and no chance either for battle or retreat, he called a council of war,[a] at which it was decided to open negotiations with General Gates to capitulate on the most honorable terms that might be procured.*

[a] Oct. 13.

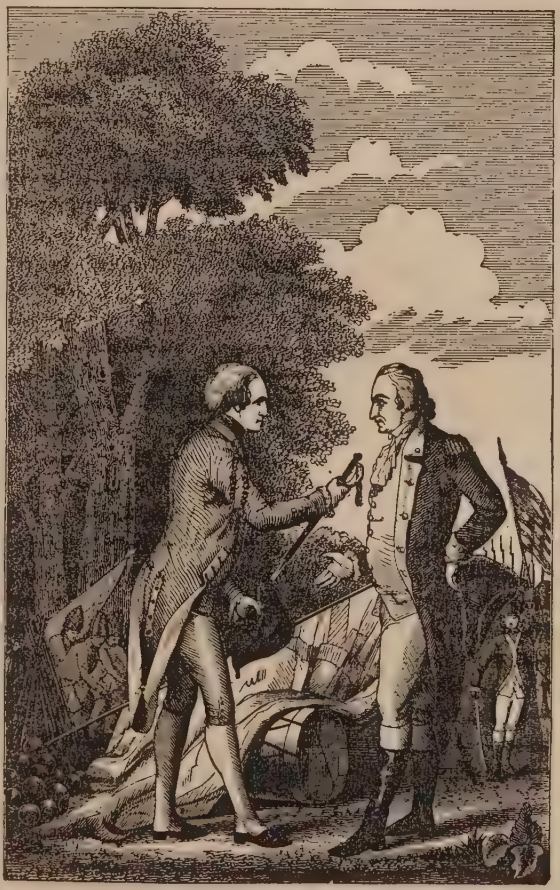
A communication was accordingly sent to General Gates,[b] offering to capitulate. He at once demanded the unconditional surrender of Burgoyne and his army as prisoners of war. He stipulated that the British troops should be drawn up in their encampment, and there ground their arms. To this Burgoyne replied, that rather than submit to such terms, he would rush upon the Americans at all hazards, determined to give no quarter, and if slain, to die as brave soldiers. Unwilling to insist upon extreme measures, which might unnecessarily produce great effusion of blood, and learning that Clinton was making a successful march up the Hudson, Gates humanely and prudently proposed an honorable surrender for Burgoyne. He agreed to accept of a surrender, and to grant them the "honors of war, and a free passage to Great Britain, on condition of their not serving again in North America during the contest." Considering the situation of the two armies, these terms were highly honorable to the British General, favorable to his nation, and reflected great credit upon the humanity and judgment of General Gates.

[b] Oct. 14.

The articles of capitulation were signed on the seventeenth of October, and on the afternoon of that day the British troops marched out of their encampment down to the water side, to a place called the Old Ford,† where they piled their arms at the word of command from their own officers. Several of the officers could scarcely pronounce the words, and many of the men wept as they grounded their arms. Gates was a man of fine feelings. He kept away from

* In a letter to the Secretary of War (Lord George Germaine), Burgoyne thus describes his situation:—"A series of hard toil, incessant effort, stubborn action, until disabled in the collateral branches of the army, by the total defection of the Indians, the desertion or timidity of the Canadians and provincials, some individuals excepted; disappointed in the last hope of any coöperation, from other armies; the regular troops reduced by losses from the best parts, to thirty-five hundred fighting men, not two thousand of whom were British; only three days' provisions, upon short allowance, in store; invested by an army of sixteen thousand men, and no appearance of retreat remaining, I called into council all the generals, field-officers, and captains commanding corps, and by their unanimous concurrence and advice, I was induced to open a treaty with Major-General Gates."

† On the ruins of Fort Hardy, which was built during the French and Indian wars.



Surrender of Burgoyne. P. 240.

the spot himself, and he would not suffer his own people to be witnesses to the sad spectacle.* Every possible courtesy was shown to the officers, and when the act of surrender was accomplished, the most friendly intercourse commenced between Generals Gates and Burgoyne.†

The surrender of Burgoyne was the most important event of the year; indeed it was one of the most important events of the whole war. There were surrendered five thousand seven hundred and ninety men, of all ranks; which number, added to the killed, wounded, and prisoners, lost by the army during the preceding part of the campaign, made altogether upwards of ten thousand men. There were also surrendered to the captors, thirty-five brass field-pieces, nearly five thousand muskets, and an immense quantity of other munitions of war. Thus, within the space of a few months, a powerful British army was entirely broken up, and the whole country, to the confines of Canada, fell into the quiet possession of the Americans.

* This is the testimony of several English and other foreign writers; among them, Stedman, Burke, Gordon, Botta, &c.

† The Baroness Reidesel, who accompanied her husband, Major-General Reidesel, during the whole of this campaign, and with Lady Ackland, endured all the privations of the camp, gives, in her very interesting narrative, the following pleasing account of her first interview with the American officers:—"As soon as the convention was signed, my husband sent a message to me to come over to him with my children. I seated myself once more in my dear calash, and then rode through the American camp. As I passed on, I observed, and this was a great consolation to me, that no one eyed me with looks of resentment, but that they all greeted us, and even showed compassion in their countenances at the sight of a woman with small children. I was, I confess, afraid to go over to the enemy, as it was quite a new situation to me. When I drew near the tents, a handsome man approached and met me, *took my children from the calash, and hugged and kissed them, which affected me almost to tears.* 'You tremble,' said he, addressing himself to me, 'be not afraid.' 'No,' I answered; 'you seem so kind and tender to my children, it inspires me with courage.' He now led me to the tent of General Gates, where I found Generals Burgoyne and Phillips, who were on a friendly footing with the former. Burgoyne said to me, 'Never mind; your sorrows have now an end.' I answered him, 'that I should be reprehensible to have any cares, as he had none,' and I was pleased to see him on such friendly footing with General Gates. All the generals remained to dine with General Gates. The same gentleman who received me so kindly, now came and said to me, 'you will be very much embarrassed to eat with these gentlemen; *come with your children to my tent, where I will prepare for you a frugal dinner, and give it with a free will.*' I said, '*you are certainly a husband and a father, you have shown me so much kindness.*' I now found that he was GENERAL SCHUYLER!" She further states that General Schuyler invited her and also Burgoyne, to become his guests at Albany, which they accepted. They were treated with great hospitality. On the occasion Burgoyne remarked to General Schuyler, "You show me great kindness, though I have done you much injury;" alluding to the fact that he had caused Schuyler's beautiful house to be burnt. "That was the fate of war," replied the brave man; "let us say no more about it."

The news of this brilliant victory caused the greatest joy throughout the whole country, and at once dispelled the gloom occasioned by the reverses upon the Delaware. The timid became bold, the tories were dismayed, and the patriots no longer doubted the final and speedy independence of the American States. Congress passed a vote of thanks[a] to Generals Gates, Arnold, and Lincoln, and all the troops under their command; and also ordered a gold medal to be struck in honor of the event, "and in the name of the United States presented by the President to Major-General Gates."

[a] Nov. 4.

Intelligence of the event reached England on the third of December, while the Parliament was in session, and it produced a powerful effect upon that body. Ministers, alarmed at the failure of their plans, endeavored to throw the blame on the commanders; declared that everything that could be done, had been done, on their part; that large armies had been sent, and amply supplied;* and they claimed, that, before being condemned, they were entitled at least to a full inquiry. The opposition justified the commanders, and cast the whole blame upon the ministry. Chatham denominated the expedition "a most wild, uncombined, mad project." Fox said that ten thousand men had been destroyed by the wilful ignorance and incapacity of Lord George Germaine, the Secretary-at-War; and on all hands, the ministers had their full share of censure. Chatham moved for an immediate cessation of hostilities, and although his motion was negatived, committees were appointed in each House for an inquiry into the state of the nation, and instructed to report at the beginning of February next ensuing. Parliament then adjourned till the twentieth of January, 1778.

General Clinton, to whom Burgoyne looked so anxiously for aid, moved from New York with three thousand troops, and proceeded up the Hudson.[b] He was left in defence of New York, the chief depôt for the stores of the British army; and its accessibility from numerous points, and the fact that Putnam, with an army of regulars and numerous bands of intrepid Connecticut militia, was hovering near, made Clinton hesitate, and delay his departure until expected reinforcements from England should arrive. It was late in September when these new recruits came, and hence it was only ten days before Burgoyne's surrender, that Clinton began his march northward. His movement then was upon his own

[b] Oct. 5.

* General Burgoyne's statement contradicts this assertion. He says, "certain parts of the expected force, nevertheless, fell short. The Canadian troops, stated in the plan at two thousand, consisted only of three companies, intended to be of one hundred men each, but in reality not amounting to more than one hundred and fifty upon the whole."—*Burgoyne's Narrative*, p. 7.

responsibility, for he had not received orders from General Howe of any description whatever.

He placed his forces upon water craft of all kinds, and under convoy of some ships of war, he proceeded as far as Verplanck's Point, about forty-five miles north of New York, where he landed without opposition, the small battery upon the peninsula having been abandoned on his approach. This was a feint to deceive Putnam, then stationed at Peekskill, five miles above, and it succeeded. Putnam, supposing it to be Clinton's intention to push on towards Albany along the eastern bank of the Hudson, drew as many troops as could possibly be spared from forts Clinton, Montgomery, and one or two other stations, and assembled about two thousand men to oppose the progress of the British General. As soon as Sir Henry Clinton perceived that his stratagem was successful, he put his plan into execution. He immediately passed two thousand of his troops over to Stony Point, on the west bank of the Hudson, leaving one thousand to guard the peninsula. Notwithstanding it was late in the afternoon, he at once commenced a march towards forts Montgomery and Clinton,* knowing their weakened state by the withdrawal of large numbers by Putnam on that day. The distance was about twelve miles, and the rugged pathway was over the precipitous and almost inaccessible Dunderberg.† It was sunset before they reached the crest of this lofty mountain, yet they rushed forward, and, according to previous arrangements, attacked both forts at once. The garrisons were taken completely by surprise, for they could not believe that a regular army would ever attempt a march over the Dunderberg; and the first intimation they had of the approach of Clinton's forces, was their actual precipitate descent of the mountain towards the fort. A desperate battle ensued, but the Americans, overpowered by numbers, were obliged to yield, and the forts fell into the hands of the British.[a] Governor George Clinton was commanding in the fort that bore his name, and he and his brother, General James Clinton, together with a majority of the survivors, made their escape under cover of the darkness of night. The loss of the Americans was about three hundred men, among whom were Lieutenant-Colonels Livingston and Bruyn, and Majors Hamilton and Logan, who were taken prisoners. The British had about one hundred and forty killed and wounded. Among the former was the Count Gabrowski, a brave Pole, and one of General

[a] Oct. 6.

* These forts were situated amid the Highlands nearly sixty miles above the city of New York. They were separated by Peploap's Kill, a small stream that forms the boundary line between Orange and Rockland counties.

† Thunder Mountain.

Clinton's aides. He and Lord Rawdon led the British grenadiers to the charge at the beginning of the assault.

Meanwhile, the fleet of the enemy attempted to co-operate with the troops, but a very serious obstruction in the river checked their progress effectually. The Americans had constructed a chevaux-de-frise of great strength across the river, which is there about six hundred yards wide.* To make the obstruction still more complete and efficient, a ponderous boom or iron chain was also stretched across the river by the side of the chevaux-de-frise. Another heavy chain was placed across the river at West Point. These combined obstructions were prepared at an expense of about two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Two frigates, two galleys, and a sloop, were placed just above the chevaux-de-frise, and under the guns of the fort. These, the Americans who escaped from the forts, set on fire, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, and they were burnt to the water's edge. That conflagration, amid the darkness of a cloudy night, presented a magnificent spectacle; and when the fire reached the loaded guns, and at length the magazines, the scene was sublime to sight and ear, beyond all conception. The echoes of those detonations and final thunder-peals were awakened upon a hundred hills, and every crest for a moment glowed with a brilliant illumination.

A few miles higher up, and opposite West Point, was another strong fort, called Constitution, which the Americans, on hearing of the fall of Forts Montgomery and Clinton, abandoned, after demolishing a part of the works. Being thus in possession of the keys to the northern country, the British immediately set about removing the obstructions in the river at Forts Montgomery and Clinton. This being accomplished, the whole fleet passed up the river, and broke the chain at West Point.† All impediments being now removed, Sir James Wallace, with a flying squadron of light frigates, and General Vaughan, with a considerable number of troops, were sent up the Hudson, commissioned to mark their progress by desolation. A detachment of tories or loyalists, under Governor Tryon, was sent at the same time to destroy the flourishing settlement in Westchester, known as Continental Village, where the Americans had barracks for fifteen hundred men, and a large deposit of military stores.[a] That infamous

[a] Oct. 9.

* A short distance above the landing-place now known as "Caldwell's."

† It has been stated to the writer, second-hand from an eye-witness, that so strong was the chain, that the whole force of the British fleet, sailing up abreast, was insufficient to sever it; and that the vessels all rebounded when they struck it, greatly to the astonishment of those on board. They, however, soon contrived to sunder it.

enemy of republicanism executed his cruel commission most faithfully. The expedition that passed up the river, burned every vessel that fell in their way, and with fire and sword desolated the country, and spread death and ruin among a peaceful and innocent population. They penetrated northward as far as the mouth of Kingston or Esopus Creek, and proceeded to the village of that name lying about two miles and a half west of the Hudson, where the Americans had a large quantity of stores. They cannonaded the place, and the people, without resistance, retreated. But the wanton barbarity of the troops pleaded for gratification, and the boon was cheerfully granted—that beautiful village was fired in several places, and in a few short hours not a single house was left standing![a] A vast amount of provisions and other military stores was consumed.

[a] Oct. 13.

Not a word can be said in justification of these atrocities, for neither necessity nor utility demanded this destruction of life and property. And had the army of Clinton, after the first success in the Highlands, pushed immediately forward to the relief of Burgoyne, instead of being engaged in these brutal expeditions, that General, with the remnant of his army, might have been enabled to retreat safely back to Canada; and there might also have been a possibility of defeating Gates. It is probable General Clinton was unwilling to depart too far from New York and leave it comparatively unprotected, and therefore took this method of drawing off a portion of the American troops from the north, sufficient to give Burgoyne a fair chance of success. This is the most charitable view that can be taken of those wanton acts of barbarism.* And it is worthy of note, that at the very time Vaughan was committing these wicked depredations, Burgoyne was receiving from General Gates the most honorable and generous conditions for himself and his ruined army.

Immediately after the surrender of Burgoyne, General Gates despatched quite a large number of troops to reinforce Putnam, and stay the devastating progress of Vaughan and Wallace. As soon as General Clinton heard of this movement, he ordered the immediate return of the expeditions; and having dismantled the forts, and destroyed all the places they had taken, in order to leave the river

* General Gates, on hearing of the expedition of Vaughan, wrote a severe letter to that officer, complaining of the devastations on each bank of the Hudson, and the burning of Esopus, and concluded by saying:—"Is it thus that the generals of the King expect to make converts to the royal cause? Their cruelties operate as a contrary effect; independence is founded upon the universal disgust of the people. The fortune of war has delivered into my hands older and abler generals than General Vaughan is reputed to be: their condition may one day become his, and then no human power can save him from the just vengeance of an offended people."

open for future operations, Clinton re-embarked his men and returned to New York, having completely swept the Hudson.

This expedition of Clinton was extremely disastrous to the Americans. Among the seemingly inaccessible Highlands, a vast quantity of provisions and stores was deposited, in supposed perfect security. These were nearly all taken or destroyed; and a hundred pieces of artillery, fifteen or twenty thousand pounds of powder, and balls in proportion, and all the implements necessary for the daily artillery service, fell into the hands of the enemy.

During the year, Congress effected several important measures, all tending towards the maintenance of the declared independence of the United States.* It has already been stated, that as early as June, 1775, Doctor Franklin proposed a confederation of the States or Colonies; and on the eleventh of June, 1776, a committee was appointed by Congress to prepare a plan of confederation. The committee reported in July following, but the report was laid upon the table, and no more was done in the premises until 1777. During this year, the subject of a confederation was frequently discussed upon the floor of Congress, and finally, after various changes, the report of the committee of the foregoing year was adopted by that body on the fifteenth of November.[a] Congress then resolved as follows:—"These Articles of Confederation shall be proposed to the Legislatures of all the United States, to be considered, and if approved of by them, they are advised to authorize their delegates to ratify the same in the Congress of the United States; which being done, the same shall become conclusive."†

[a] 1777.

These Articles of Confederation were nothing more than provisions for a league of friendship, and for mutual aid and protection; and so widely different were the conditions of the several Colonies or States, and so defective were the Articles of Union, that it was not until March, 1781, that Maryland, the last remaining State, ratified the agreement, and thus made the Articles of Confederation the Constitution of the country.

Through the active agency of Doctor Franklin, in conjunction with Silas Deane and Arthur Lee, who were sent out in November, 1776, as resident commissioners for the United States at the Court of Versailles, a treaty of alliance and commerce was negotiated with the French government. As early as the twenty-eighth of December,[a] these commissioners opened their business in a

[a] 1776.

* For two years the clear-headed, patriotic John Hancock, presided over the deliberations of that body, but his health requiring a relaxation from his arduous duties, he took leave of Congress on the twenty-ninth of October, 1777, and Henry Laurens was elected to succeed him.

† See Appendix, Note VIII.

private audience with the Count de Vergennes, the Prime Minister of Louis XVI. Congress could not have applied to the Court of France under more favorable auspices. The throne was filled by a prince in the flower of his age, and animated with a desire to make his reign illustrious. Count de Vergennes was not less remarkable for his extensive political knowledge, than for true greatness of mind. He had the superior wisdom to discern that there were no present advantages to be obtained by unequal terms, that would compensate for those lasting benefits that were likely to flow from a kind and generous beginning. Instead of grasping at too much, or taking any advantage of the humble situation of the invaded Colonies, he aimed at nothing more than, by kind and generous terms to a distressed country, to perpetuate the separation which had already taken place between the component parts of an empire, from the union of which his sovereign had much to fear. A haughty reserve would have discouraged the Americans; an open reception, or even a legal countenance of their deputies, might have alarmed the rulers of Great Britain, and disposed them to a compromise with the Colonies, or have brought on an immediate rupture between France and England. A middle line, as preferable to either, was therefore pursued.*

What the French government did not think it prudent to do, private enterprise accomplished; and during the whole year, the Americans received more or less aid from France,† while the government was continually alternating between encouragement and condemnation, according to the development of events. The reverses of 1776 sank the credit of the Americans very low, and much of the French ardor for the cause of republicanism was abated. But the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and subsequently the capture of Burgoyne, clearly foretold the ultimate success of the Americans, and the French government no longer hesitated. The Commissioners of Congress were informed by Mr. Gerard, one of the Secretaries of the King's Council of State, that the treaty of alliance and commerce which had been for some time under consideration, would be ratified; "that it was decided to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and to make a treaty with them;" and, on the sixth of February, 1778, Louis XVI. entered into treaties of amity

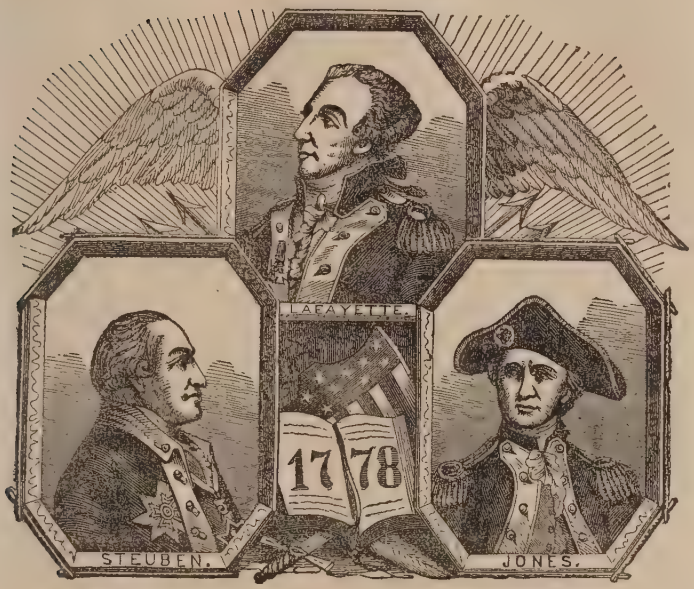
* Ramsay's History of the American Revolution, vol. ii., pp. 62, 63.

† On the first of December, 1777, the French ship L'Henreux, laden with arms and munitions of war, for the United States, arrived at Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Baron Steuben, a Prussian officer, and one of the aides-de-camp of Frederick the Great, came passenger in her, and tendered his services to Congress, which were accepted, and he became one of the most efficient officers in the Continental army.

and commerce, and of alliance, with the United States, on the footing of the most perfect equality and reciprocity. It was declared in the treaty of alliance, that if war should break out between France and England, during the existence of that with the United States, it should be made a common cause; and that neither of the contracting parties should conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other first obtained; and they mutually engaged not to lay down their arms "until the independence of the United States shall have been formally, or tacitly, assumed, by the treaty or treaties, that should terminate the war." Thus closed the year 1777. The future looked far brighter than it did at the close of the preceding year, and it was joyfully believed that the late successes of the American arms, and the alliance with France, would terminate hostilities ere another campaign should open.

Washington's Head-quarters, at Morristown, N. J.

EVENTS OF 1778.



Marquis de La Fayette, aged 25—Baron Steuben—Commodore John Paul Jones.

CHAPTER VIII.

HE American encampment at Valley Forge during the severe winter of 1777–8, presented a spectacle for which the pen of History never drew a parallel. A large army* was there concentrated, whose naked foot-prints in the snow, converging to that bleak hill-side, were often marked with blood. Absolute Destitution there held high court; and never was the

* The whole number of men in the field was eleven thousand and ninety-eight, when the encampment commenced. Of this number two thousand eight hundred and ninetv-eight were unfit for duty.—*Sparks* (1 vol.), p. 256.

chivalric heroism of patient suffering more tangibly manifested than was exhibited by that patriot band within those frail log huts that barely covered them from the falling snow, or sheltered them from the keen wintry blasts. Many were utterly without shoes or stockings, and nearly naked, obliged to sit night after night shivering round their fires in quest of the comforts of heat, instead of taking that needful repose which nature craves. Hunger also became a resident tormentor, for the prevalence of toryism in the vicinage; the avarice of commissaries, the tardy movements of Congress in supplying provisions, and the close proximity of a powerful enemy, combined to make the procurement of provisions absolutely impracticable without a resort to force. But few horses were in the camp; and such was the deficiency in this respect for the ordinary, as well as extraordinary occasions of the army, that the men in many instances cheerfully yoked themselves to vehicles of their own construction, for carrying wood and provisions when procured; while others performed the duty of pack-horses, and carried heavy burdens of fuel upon their backs.* Yet amidst all this suffering day after day, surrounded by frost and snow, patriotism was still warm and hopeful in the hearts of the soldiers, and the love of self was merged into the one great sentiment, *love of country*. Although a few feeble notes of discontent were heard, and symptoms of an intention to abandon the cause were visible, yet the great body of that suffering phalanx were content to wait for the budding spring, and be ready to enter anew upon the fields of strife for the cause of Freedom.† Unprovided with materials to raise their beds from the cold ground, the dampness occasioned sickness and death to rage among them to an astonishing degree. "Indeed, nothing could surpass their suffering, except the patience and fortitude with which it was endured by the faithful part of the army."‡ Amid all this distress, in the neighborhood of a powerful British army, fearless of its numbers and strength, and licentiousness,§ a striking proof of their

* Mrs. Warren's History of the Revolution, vol. i., p. 389.

† General Washington, in a letter to Congress, thus wrote:—"For some days there has been little less than famine in the camp. A part of the army have been a week without any kind of flesh, and the rest three or four days. Naked and starving as they are, we cannot enough admire the incomparable patience and fidelity of the soldiery, that they have not been, ere this, excited by their sufferings to a general mutiny and dispersion. Strong symptoms, however, of discontent have appeared in particular instances; and nothing but the most active efforts everywhere, can long avert so shocking a catastrophe."

‡ Letter of the Committee of Congress, to Mr. Laurens, President of that body.

§ It is admitted, even by English writers, that General Howe and his officers, during that winter in Philadelphia, abandoned themselves to idleness and debauchery; while the soldiers were left to indulge their own social habits.

intrepidity in suffering was exhibited by the Americans. The Commander-in-chief, and several of the principal officers of the American army, in defiance of danger either to themselves and such tender connexions, sent for their ladies from the different States to which they belonged, to pass the remainder of the winter there.* Nothing but the inexperience of the American ladies, and their confidence in the judgment of their husbands, could justify this hazard to their persons, and to their feelings of delicacy.†

It was an arduous task for Washington to keep together and supply with provisions, that army of suffering men, and night and day his efforts were almost unceasing for their comfort and convenience. As a last resort, he compelled those who had withheld provisions to furnish them forthwith. Sheer necessity obliged him, in this instance, to treat the American tories with as little consideration as the English soldiery.‡ In the midst of these difficulties, jealous and restless minds had formed a conspiracy to tarnish the fair fame of the Commander-in-chief, to weaken the affections of the people for him, and to place the supreme command in other hands. He was attacked by anonymous letters, censuring him for his apathetic movements—his "Fabian slowness," and strongly contrasting his reverses upon the Delaware and its vicinity with the brilliant victory of Gates at the north. Most of these letters bore the signature of De Lisle, the authorship of which was never publicly known, but generally attributed to Conway, a brigadier in the army, who had been in the French service from his youth. The other chief actors in this conspiracy, called "Conway's Cabal," were Generals Mifflin and Gates; and it cannot be denied that several Members of Congress partook of the disaffection, doubted the ability of Washington to execute his high trust, and countenanced the scheme for his supersession.§

* Mrs. Washington joined her husband at Valley Forge in February. Writing a month afterwards, to Mrs. Mercy Warren, the historian of the Revolution, she said, "The General's apartment is very small; he has had a log cabin built to dine in, which has made our quarters much more tolerable than they were at first."—*Sparks*, p. 256.

† Mrs. Warren, vol. i., p. 389.

‡ In obedience to a resolution of Congress, Washington issued a proclamation, requiring all the farmers within seventy miles of Valley Forge to thresh out one half of their grain by the first of February, and the rest by the first of March, under the penalty of having the whole seized as straw. Many farmers refused, defended their grain and cattle with muskets and rifle, and in some instances burnt what they could not defend.

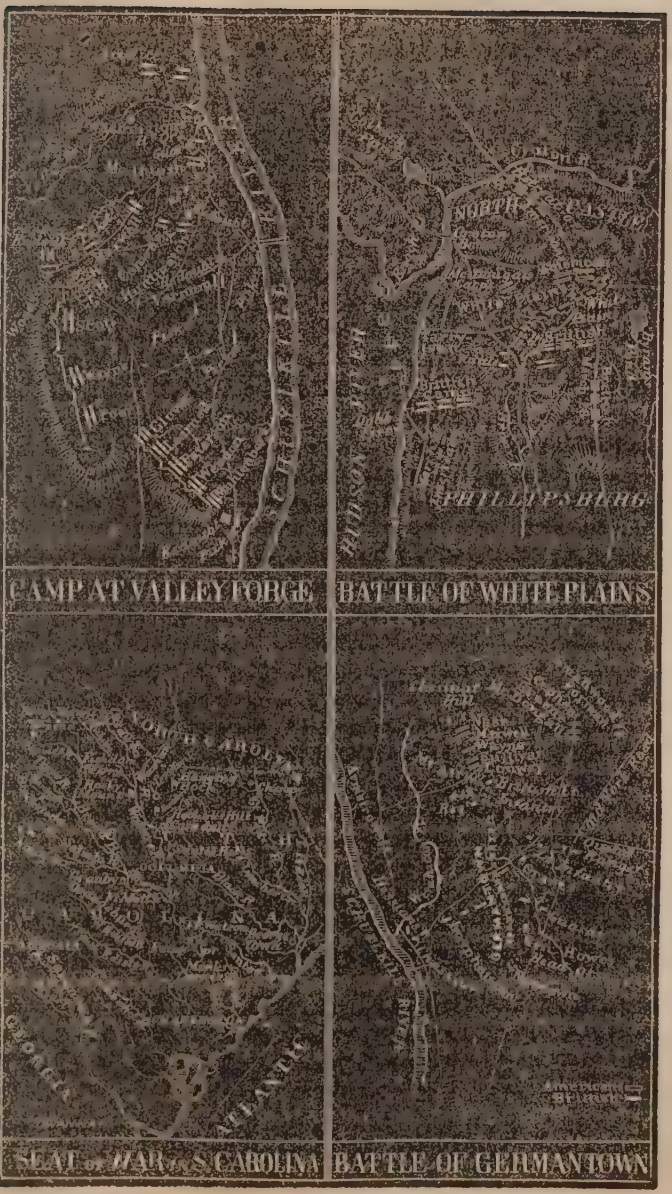
§ Even Samuel Adams was suspected of unfriendly designs towards the Commander-in-chief. But there were never sufficient grounds to suppose that Mr. Adams ever harbored any disaffection towards the person of Washington; on the contrary, he respected and esteemed his character, and loved the man. But zeal-

Attempts were made, through persuasion, and flattery, and promised honors, to link La Fayette with them, but it proved a signal failure. The firmness with which the young patriot clung to Washington during this trial of the hero's sensitive heart, shamed the secret enemies and jealous rivals of that great man, and was mainly instrumental in dissolving the cabal.* A pamphlet was also published in London, containing several reputed letters of Washington, wherein he was made to speak disparagingly of Congress, and express strong wishes for a reconciliation. This pamphlet was industriously circulated in America, but it had but little effect upon the public mind, other than contempt for the infamous forger. This was likewise attributed to Conway, who was a man of considerable literary talents, and was quite above mediocrity in military tactics. Like many others, the glowing promises of rank and influence, injudiciously made by the ardent Silas Deane, caused him great disappointment when he arrived and found that subordinate station was all he could command. He was appointed Inspector-General of the American forces, and yet saw no chance for preferment, except by a pathway over the ruins of the character and influence of the Great Leader, and to this path heartless ambition beckoned him. But, finding his expectations not half realized, and being generally suspected of an identity with De Lisle, he resigned his commission and returned to Europe.† He was succeeded in office by Baron Steuben, whose great experience under Frederick the Great eminently qualified him for its duties, and in a short time, he introduced a system of tactics and discipline into the army, which met with the hearty

ous and ardent in his defence of his injured country, he was startled at everything that appeared to retard the operations of the war, or impede the success of the Revolution; a revolution for which posterity is as much indebted to the talent and exertions of Mr. Adams, as to those of any one in the United States.—*Mrs. Warren*, vol. i., p. 393.

* A new Board of War was about this time instituted, with Gates at its head. This Board, without consulting Washington, planned an expedition to Canada, and appointed La Fayette to the command, hoping thereby to win him over. By the advice of Washington, he accepted the proffered honor, and before starting for Albany he visited the Board at Yorktown, Virginia, for instructions. He met them at table, and as the wine passed round, several toasts were given. Determined to let his sentiments be known, La Fayette gave, "The Commander-in-chief of the American Armies." It was coldly received, and perceiving the true sentiments of the patriotic Frenchman, they soon after abandoned the project, and La Fayette returned to Valley Forge.

† Before leaving the country, he got into a dispute with an American officer, which led to a duel. Conway was severely, and as he thought, mortally, wounded; and believing he should die, he wrote to Washington, expressing sorrow for his conduct, and concluded by saying, "May you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of these States, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues."


CAMP AT VALLEY FORGE
BATTLE OF WHITE PLAINS
SEAT OF WAR IN S. CAROLINA
BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN

approval of Congress and of Washington, and which, for many years after the close of the war, was used by the States for training the militia.

The unworthy efforts of the secret enemies of Washington were like a viper biting a file. They only served to increase the confidence and affections of the people in and for him; and his dignified silence while the waves of opposition were beating fiercely against him—a silence warranted by his conscious integrity, and the injustice of the attack, was a more fitting rebuke than words could have administered. Though deeply wounded, yet Washington's remarkable prudence too clearly perceived that a public defence would necessarily involve the development of facts which the enemy ought not to know; and he chose rather to suffer contumely in silence, than to endanger the cause by a self-defence.

Before proceeding to a consideration of the military events of 1778, let us for a moment glance at the movements of the British Parliament. British statesmen, particularly those of the ministerial party, had, previous to the defeat of Burgoyne, deemed a speedy termination of the war an unquestionable certainty. But when the news of the surrender of the whole British army of the north reached them, they were utterly confounded, and profound dejection marked the whole British realm. The pompous boasts of ministers, the confident tone of the King, and the high character of generals chosen to direct the war, had awakened the most sanguine expectations of a speedy peace, and hence the news of these reverses was as dejecting as unexpected. Lord North was greatly alarmed, and he was obliged to listen to the thousand-tongued voice of public sentiment in favor of measures to secure an honorable peace. Abroad, in all parts of the country, ministers were censured; and in Parliament, the opposition were more vehement than ever. In the House of Lords, the indignant eloquence of Chatham when he commented upon the employment of German troops, had a powerful effect. "You may swell," said he, "every expense, and every effort still more extravagantly; pile and accumulate every assistance you can buy or borrow; traffic and barter with every little, pitiful German prince, that sells and sends his subjects to the shambles of a foreign power: your efforts are for ever vain and impotent—doubly so from this mercenary aid on which you rely; for it irritates to an incurable resentment the minds of your enemies—to overrun them with the mercenary sons of rapine and plunder; devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never—never—never!"

In the lower House, both Lords North and Germaine were assailed with equal violence, and the latter with not a little severe ridicule. Burke compared North to the "pigmy physician" who was set to watch over the health of Sancho Panza; while Fox, by a more apt illustration, compared Lord George Germaine, the Secretary of War, and chief director of American affairs, to Doctor Sangrado, whose grand and only remedy was to bleed. "Bleeding," said he, "has been his only prescription. For two years that he has presided over American affairs, the most violent scalping, tomahawking measures have been pursued. If a people, deprived of their ancient rights, have grown tumultuous—bleed them! If they are attacked with a spirit of insurrection—bleed them! If their fever should rise into rebellion—bleed them! cries this State physician: more blood: more blood: still more blood!"

On the seventeenth of February,[a] Lord North produced a conciliatory plan, included in two bills, by which England virtually conceded all that had been the cause of controversy between the two countries. In fact, more was offered than the Colonies had ever asked or desired before the Declaration of Independence. The right of taxation was to be renounced; the violated constitutions were to be restored; every act since 1763 was to be abrogated, except such as were manifestly beneficial to the Colonies; and in the course of his speech in support of his plan, Lord North recommended that Congress should be treated with as a legal body. This renunciation by ministers of all their high pretensions to absolute sovereignty over the American Colonies, was a signal triumph for the opposition, who, for thirteen years, had battled manfully for American liberty upon the floor of Parliament. The bills passed rapidly through both Houses, and received the royal signature.[b]

[a] 1778.

[b] March 11.

On the seventeenth of March, Parliament was informed of the treaty between the United States and France. The British Minister at that Court was immediately recalled; the French Ambassador in London received his passports at the same time, and thus war was virtually declared between the two countries. In the meanwhile, commissioners had been sent to America with proposals for an amicable adjustment of all difficulties.

Many of the opposition now advocated the acknowledgment of American Independence; but Chatham, with all his fervor in the cause of freedom for the Americans to the fullest extent known in the British constitution, could not brook the thought of a dismemberment of that mighty empire, which he had been so instrumental

in widely extending. He appeared in the House of Lords,[a] and taking his hand from his crutch, he raised it and exclaimed, "I thank God that I have been enabled to come here this day to perform my duty, and to speak on a subject that has so deeply impressed my mind. I am old and infirm; I have one foot, more than one foot, in the grave; I am risen from my bed, to stand up in the cause of my country—perhaps never again to speak in this House.* I rejoice that the grave has not closed over me; that I am still alive to lift up my voice against the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy. Shall this great kingdom, that has survived the Danish depredators, the Scottish invaders, and the Norman conquest; that has stood the threatened invasion of the Spanish Armada, now fall prostrate before the house of Bourbon? Surely, my Lords, this nation is no longer what it was! Shall a people, that fifteen years ago were the terror of the world, now stoop so low as to tell their ancient, inveterate enemy—'take all we have, only give us peace!' It is impossible! In God's name, if it is absolutely necessary to declare either for peace or war, and the former cannot be preserved with honor, why is not the latter commenced without hesitation? I am not, I confess, well informed of the resources of this kingdom; but I trust it has still sufficient to maintain its just rights, though I know them not. But, my Lords, any state is better than despair. . . . . Let us at least make one effort; and if we must fall, let us fall like men." The proposition to acknowledge the independence of the United States was negatived by a large majority.

[a] April 7.

The British Commissioners† landed at Philadelphia about the first of June, and sent to Congress copies of their commission, the acts of Parliament in reference to their appointment, and the terms they were instructed to offer. These were referred to a committee of five, and when they reported, the President was directed to reply to the Commissioners, and inform them that the preliminaries to any negotiation with Great Britain on the subject must be the withdrawal of her fleets and armies. The Commissioners made a second, but unsuccessful attempt at negotiation, and also made public declarations, but these were derided. Finally, they attempted to win some

* This *was* the last speech he ever made in that House. In the course of his address, when excited to the highest degree of eloquence, he was suddenly seized with illness of an apoplectic character, and he would have fallen to the floor had not some members caught him in their arms. The House was in great confusion: all pressed round with anxious solicitude, and the debate closed without another word. He was removed to his residence, where he expired on the eleventh of May, in the seventieth year of his age.

† Earl Carlisle, Governor Johnstone, and William Eden

of the Members of Congress over to the British interest, by large bribes,* but they were not only foiled in this, but the effort created universal indignation. Congress at once resolved to hold no further communication; and the Commissioners, after attempting to affect the people by addresses and proclamations, returned to England.

A few weeks previous to this, the French frigate "La Sensible," arrived in Casco Bay, bearing the joyful tidings to the Americans, in an official form, of the treaty concluded between the United States and France, and also the intelligence that other European powers were favorably inclined to the Republican cause. Congress was immediately convened,† and the treaties were ratified as soon as read. Congress also issued a proclamation, embodying the various foreign documents they had received, touching the independence of America. It spoke of the treaty of commerce and alliance with France, and asserted that the Emperor of Germany, and the Kings of Spain and Prussia were determined to support the Americans; that armies and fleets from France were preparing to come,—perhaps were on their way—to America, and that ample strength would be vouchsafed them for absolute success in the next campaign. This proclamation, and an energetic address which Congress sent forth, produced universal joy, and the people were anxious to see the next campaign open, which they fondly hoped would be a short one. They rejoiced in the prospect of seeing the Sword exchanged for the Olive-branch of Peace, and obedience to a transatlantic monarch and a partial legislature, substituted by self-sovereignty and just and equal representation.

Early in the spring, General Howe requested his recall, which request was immediately granted, and on the eighteenth of May his officers gave him a great fête, as a "leave-taking." The pompous and contemptible show on that occasion, was a fit finale to the disgraceful scenes in which Howe and his officers had borne a conspicuous part during the winter in Philadelphia.‡ This fête was

* The President (Henry Laurens), Joseph Reed, Francis Dana, Robert Morris, and others, were thus approached. General Reed was offered ten thousand pounds sterling and the most valuable office in the Colonies, if he would exert his abilities to promote a reconciliation. To this base proposition he replied:—"I am not worth purchasing; but such as I am, the King of Great Britain is not rich enough to buy me."

† It was Saturday afternoon, and Congress had adjourned to ten o'clock Monday morning. The despatches were brought by Simeon Deane, brother of Silas, the American Commissioner, and the Members of Congress were called together, and the despatches opened and read.—*See Journals of Congress*, vol. iv., p. 255.

‡ Stedman, a British officer under Cornwallis, says: "During the winter a very unfortunate inattention was shown to the feelings of the inhabitants, whose satisfaction should have been vigilantly consulted, both from gratitude and from inte-

called a *Mischianza*, an Italian word, signifying a medley, and is said to have exceeded in magnificence of exhibition even those of Louis XIV.* Six days after the fête[a] Sir William Howe took his departure, and at the same time, Sir Henry Clinton arrived from New York to assume the chief command. He was instructed by his government to evacuate Philadelphia, and concentrate all his forces at New York, Philadelphia being deemed a disadvantageous position, being so far inland, and liable to be blockaded by the expected French fleets. He immediately set about the execution of this order, but in a very secret manner, so as to conceal from Washington, at Valley Forge, his real designs. But the vigilance of the American chief soon discovered the movement; and he sent out from Valley Forge[a] a detachment of two thousand men, under General La Fayette, to cover the country between

[a] May 24.

[a] May 20.

rest. They experienced many of the horrors of civil war. The soldiers insulted and plundered them; and their houses were occupied as barracks without any compensation. Some of the first families were compelled to receive into their habitations individual officers, who were even indecent enough to introduce their mistresses into the mansions of their hospitable entertainers. Gaming of every description was allowed, and officers and soldiers were debased by their vicious habits." In view of these things, Dr. Franklin remarked, that Howe had not taken Philadelphia, but Philadelphia Howe.

* In the Annual (British) Register for 1778, is a minute description of this *Mischianza*, occupying thirteen columns, said to have been written by the unfortunate Major André, who was present on the occasion, from which we gather the following: A grand regatta on the Delaware began the entertainment, with all the bands on shore playing "God save the King." All the colors of the army were arranged in a grand avenue three hundred feet long, and lined with the King's troops, with two principal arches, for the two brothers (the Admiral and General), to march along in pompous procession, followed by a numerous train of attendants, with seven silken Knights of the Blended Rose, and seven more of the Burning Mountain; and fourteen damsels dressed in the Turkish fashion; each knight bearing an appropriate motto, in allusion to the damsel of his choice. After this procession followed a tilt, or tournament, in which Lord Cathcart acted the part of chief knight, his device being Cupid riding on a lion; his motto, "Surmounted by Love;" and the lady he professed to honor, Miss Auchmuty, of Philadelphia. This was followed by a ball, not omitting the faro table! After this a magnificent supper, where there were four hundred and thirty covers, and twelve hundred dishes. Twenty-four black slaves in oriental costume, with silver collars and armlets, were ranged in two lines, and bent themselves to the earth as the General and Admiral approached the table. The evening closed with healths to the King, Queen, and royal family, and a grand flourish of trumpets. Paine, in one of the numbers of his paper called the "Crisis," gave a laughable account of this farce. Alluding to General Howe, he says, "He bounces off, with his bombs and burning hearts set upon the pillars of his triumphant arch, which at the proper time of the show, burst out with a shower of squibs and crackers, and other fire-works, to the delight and amazement of Miss Craig, Miss Chew, Miss Redman, and all the other Misses dressed out as the fair damsels of the Blended Rose, and of the Burning Mountain, for this farce of knight-errantry." How strange that such sensible men as these two commanders were, should have consented to receive such gross adulation.

the Delaware and Schuylkill, to obstruct incursions of the enemy's parties, and obtain accurate information respecting their movements. La Fayette marched to Barren Hill, towards which the British sent a large force at night, and, through the negligence or perfidy of one of La Fayette's piquet guard, he was nearly surrounded before he was aware of the approach of the enemy. He quickly perceived and executed a most skilful manœuvre, by which he gained a ford, and marched his whole army across the Schuylkill, with the loss of only nine men.

Early on the morning of the eighteenth of June, General Clinton commenced his march from Philadelphia. The news of this movement of the British army was received by Washington while holding a council of war with his officers, to determine the numbers of the respective armies,* and the chances of success in a general engagement. In the meanwhile, General Maxwell had been ordered to cross the Delaware, and act in concert with General Dickenson, who was in command of the New Jersey militia. As soon as the British army had crossed the Delaware, a detachment under Arnold took possession of Philadelphia.† Generals Lee‡ and Wayne took the road to Coryell's Ferry; and six days afterwards the whole American army landed upon the New Jersey shore, and marched to Hopewell, five miles from Princeton. The British army had crossed at Gloucester Point, and proceeded by the way of Haddonfield and Mount Holly, to Allentown, where, in consequence of the approximation of Washington to his front, Clinton determined to keep him to the right, and took the road leading to Monmouth and Sandy Hook. He was greatly harassed all the way by Morgan's corps of six hundred riflemen hanging upon his right flank, while Generals Maxwell and Scott constantly galled the left and rear.

At Hopewell, Washington called a council of war, to discuss the best mode of attack upon the enemy. The council was divided, Lee and others advising to avoid a general battle, but to harass the enemy upon flank and rear. Finding these dissentient councils an impediment, Washington determined to act in accordance with the dictates

* The number of troops at Valley Forge was about eleven thousand on the eighth of May, when a private council was held; and the whole American force then in the field, including all the garrisons at other places, did not exceed fifteen thousand men. The British army in Philadelphia and New York amounted to nearly thirty thousand, of which nineteen thousand were in the former place. There were besides three thousand seven hundred at Rhode Island.

† In consideration of his previous eminent services, and to allow him to recover from some wounds, and adjust some long accounts with Congress, Washington appointed Arnold to the tranquil post of military Governor of Philadelphia. Here was opened the first scene in the drama of his subsequent treason.

‡ Lee had been very lately exchanged for General Prescott.

of his own judgment, and at once sent forward between three and four thousand men to commence an attack, while he, with the rest of the army, remained a few miles behind, ready to support them if necessary. The command of this force was given to La Fayette and Wayne ; and General Lee, who was next in command to Washington, was ordered with two additional brigades to join them.

Perceiving these threatening movements of the pursuing Americans, Clinton placed his baggage train in front, and his best men in the rear, and with his army thus arranged, encamped in a strong position near Monmouth Court House at Freehold. On the morning of the twenty-eighth of June, the British front began to march, intelligence of which reached Washington about five o'clock, he being distant six or seven miles. He instantly put the army in motion, and despatched the light-horse of La Fayette to make an attack. The British wheeled, and, under Clinton and Cornwallis, made a furious charge, which compelled La Fayette to fall back, much to the surprise of Lee, who was also advancing with about five thousand men. Lee at once ordered a retreat across a morass in his rear, to a stronger position ; but his troops mistaking his order, as he alleged, continued to retreat until they met the advance of the main army, under Washington, and thereby produced great confusion, no notice of the retreat having been given. Washington was greatly surprised and mortified at this unexpected retreat, and addressing Lee with much warmth, ordered him to rally his troops and bring them immediately into action.* Lee promptly obeyed, and the order of battle was restored in time for him to oppose a powerful check to the advance of the enemy, until the main division came up.

Generals Greene and Wayne simultaneously attacked the enemy's front and left flank. The battle became general, and lasted till night. Intending to renew the contest in the morning, Washington directed the troops to lie upon their arms, while he, wrapped in his cloak, passed the night upon the battle-field. At dawn the next morning,[a] no enemy was to be seen, Sir Henry Clinton having silently withdrawn his troops during the night, and followed his baggage-train to Middlebrook. His position was there so strong,

[a] June 29.

* General Lee was greatly irritated by the reprimand of Washington. His haughty pride was touched ; and the next day he addressed two offensive letters to the Commander-in-chief, demanding reparation. He was soon put under arrest, charged with disobedience of orders ; misbehavior before the enemy; and disrespect to the Commander-in-chief. He was found guilty of all the charges, and was sentenced to suspension from all command in the American army for one year. He left the service, and never returned to it. He died four years afterwards, in Philadelphia.

and so intense was the heat, and so exhausted were the Continental soldiers, that Washington deemed it expedient to abandon the pursuit. This battle, although favorable to the Americans, was not a decided victory; yet Congress viewed it somewhat in that light, and passed a vote of thanks to the commander and the army. The loss of the British was considerably more than that of the Americans. Four British officers, and two hundred and forty-five privates, were left dead on the field, and were buried by the Americans. The whole loss of the enemy was nearly three hundred. The American loss was sixty-nine killed. On both sides many died of the intense heat of the weather and the fatigues of the day.

After the battle of Monmouth, the British proceeded to Sandy Hook, where Lord Howe's fleet, which had come round from the Delaware, was in readiness to transport them to New York, at which place they arrived at evening of the same day on which the battle was fought.[a] While marching through New Jersey, Clinton's army was considerably reduced; the loss at Monmouth being the least moiety. One hundred were taken prisoners; and nearly six hundred deserted to Philadelphia, where many of them had formed tender attachments during the winter. When Clinton reached New York his army had suffered a reduction of at least two thousand men. The loss of men was more serious to the British than to the Americans, for the latter could soon recruit from the militia of the country. Washington crossed the Hudson and encamped at White Plains, where he remained until November, when he retired to winter-quarters, at Middlebrook, in New Jersey.

[a] July 5.

As soon as France, by treaty, had openly declared in favor of the United States, she promptly commenced the fulfilment of her agreement, by fitting out a fleet of twelve sail of the line, and sent them to America, under the Count D'Estaing. At the same time, the British government sent a fleet of about equal numbers, under Admiral Byron, to co-operate with Admiral Lord Howe, but both fleets were delayed by contrary winds, and did not reach their destination until months afterwards. The French fleet arrived first,[b] and proceeded immediately to the Chesapeake, expecting to find Lord Howe there, but, as we have already seen, he had proceeded to New York.* D'Estaing immediately repaired to Sandy Hook, but feared to venture over the bar into New York Bay, with his large ships, and accordingly waited outside eleven days, with the hope of either encountering the inward-bound vessels of Byron, or that Howe might be hardy enough to attack him. On the twenty-

[b] July 11.

* M. Gerard, French Ambassador to Congress, came with the French fleet and was landed at Sandy Hook.

second of July he weighed anchor and proceeded to Rhode Island, to assist the American land forces in their efforts there to dislodge the English.

General Sullivan was then in Providence with a considerable body of Continental troops, and he was soon reinforced by the militia of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. Washington also sent a detachment of two brigades under La Fayette, who was soon after followed by a small force under Greene, making in all nearly ten thousand men. The British force in Rhode Island, under General Pigot, was about six thousand men, stationed principally at Newport. It was agreed to attack that place by land and water on the ninth of August, but on that very morning, Howe, with the British fleet, appeared at the entrance of the harbor. The French Admiral at once sailed out to attack Howe, who immediately put to sea, and soon both fleets were out of sight.

The British at the same time abandoned some posts on the island, and Sullivan immediately crossed over and took possession of them. He then proceeded towards Newport, and on the morning of the fifteenth[a] commenced a siege of the place. During the siege[b] D'Estaing came into the harbor. A storm had separated the two fleets before coming to an engagement, and both were very much injured. The French Admiral sent word to Sullivan that he could not aid him in the siege, but should proceed to Boston to repair, and to this determination he firmly held, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of La Fayette and Greene for him to remain. Sullivan was obliged to abandon the siege and retreat at night. He was pursued by the British in the morning, and on the north end of the island a pretty severe engagement took place. The British lost in killed and wounded, two hundred and sixty men; the Americans two hundred and eleven, of whom thirty were killed or missing.

[a] Aug. 15.
[b] Aug. 19.

General Sullivan having received information that General Clinton with four thousand men was on a rapid march for Rhode Island, immediately commenced evacuating it, and in an admirable manner withdrew all his troops[c] to the main land before the arrival of the British Commander-in-chief.

[c] Aug. 30.

General Clinton finding Newport safe, immediately returned to New York, intending to attack New London on the way, but was prevented by a storm. He detached General Grey to attack some privateering stations at Buzzard's Bay, where he destroyed seventy vessels and numerous store-houses.[d] After destroying much property in New Bedford and Fairhaven, he proceeded to Martha's Vineyard,[e] and plundered the inhabitants of about

[d] Sept. 5.
[e] Sept. 7.

ten thousand sheep and three hundred oxen, with which he marched to Clinton's head-quarters at New York. This General Grey was particularly famous for these plundering expeditions. He was more noted for stealthy seizures of property, and the murder at midnight of sleeping soldiers, than for manly courage in open daylight combat. Soon after his exploits at Buzzard's Bay, he was sent by Clinton against the village of Old Tappaan, on the west side of the Hudson, where, at midnight, he surprised a body of American light-horse under Colonel Baylor, gave no quarter, cruelly massacred a large majority of the privates, and carried away the officers as prisoners.

Little Egg Harbor, on the New Jersey coast, a rendezvous of American privateers, was about this time attacked by a detachment under Captain Ferguson.[a] Much shipping was destroyed, and a considerable quantity of stores captured.[b] This same expedition surprised the legion under Count Pulaski, and made great slaughter, until the brave Pole came up with his cavalry, when the British retreated to their ships, and returned to New York.

[a] Sailed Sept. 30.

[b] Oct. 6.

In September, the storm-beaten ships of the fleet of Byron joined Lord Howe, and both fleets, at the request of the latter, were placed under the command of Admiral Gambier. Lord Howe soon after returned to England.

The conduct of D'Estaing in abandoning the siege of Newport was greatly censured by the Americans, and when he arrived in Boston, his reception was very cool. A general murmur of complaint of the inefficient co-operation of their French allies, was uttered by the American people; and that alliance which at the beginning of the year held out such brilliant hopes to the struggling republicans, was nearly severed. The English Commissioners took this occasion to remind the Americans that the French were a faithless people, and might not be trusted.* But these manifestations had no lasting effect, and the dissatisfaction soon subsided.†

During the summer the inhabitants on the western frontiers suffered greatly from the barbarities of the Indians. But those tribes which ravaged the back settlements of Virginia were speedily defeated by Colonel Clarke, an intrepid leader of Virginia militia.

* The insulting language used towards France by the Commissioners excited the indignation of La Fayette, and he challenged Carlisle. His challenge was not accepted; the English Commissioner retreating behind official prerogative.

† The disagreement which existed between the American and French officers at Rhode Island, gave the deepest concern to Washington. In a letter to La Fayette, who had communicated the particulars, he lamented it as a misfortune, which might end in a serious injury to the public interest; and he endeavored to assuage the rising animosity of the parties, by counsels equally creditable to his feelings as a man, and to his patriotism.—*Sparks*, p. 280.

He entered their country and drove all before him until he reached the British settlements on the Mississippi. At Kaskaskias he surprised and captured Colonel Hamilton, the British commander there, one of the most cruel employers of the savages which the enemy possessed. This expedition put an end to most of the outrages upon the settlers at the south and west.

The beautiful Vale of Wyoming, Pennsylvania, next became the theatre of a dreadful tragedy. Through this valley the Susquehanna flows, on the banks of which the inhabitants of Connecticut had planted a Colony, many years before the Revolution. It became the most populous and flourishing settlement in America, and nowhere perhaps on the face of the globe existed a community of like numbers, where so much happiness, based upon public and private virtue, prevailed, as in the Valley of Wyoming. Industry and frugality were the great temporal characteristics of the people, and at the same time stern patriotism found a luxuriant nursery there. When the War of Independence broke out, Wyoming sent forth its youth, and during the struggle, it gave a thousand soldiers to battle for liberty; and yet in the midst of that peaceful community, party spirit raised its unseemly head, and soon the animosities of whigs and tories became as strong there as elsewhere, separating families, and severing the dearest domestic ties. The republicans having a majority, used means to restrain the action of the tories, and even expelled several of them from the Colony. This highly exasperated them; they swore revenge; they coalesced with their savage neighbors; and, during the summer of this year, while nearly all the youths of the settlement were with the army, they resolved to wreak vengeance. Both tories and Indians lulled the inhabitants into security by earnest protestations of friendship, and thus they learned the correct state of the Colony, and caused the people to be less on their guard.

Early in July, Colonel John Butler, and a celebrated Seneca chief named Si-en-gwa-toh,* suddenly appeared upon the Susquehanna with sixteen hundred men, about one fourth of whom were Indians, and the rest tories, many of them painted so as to resemble savages. The alarmed Colonists, having a presentiment of impend-

* History and song have universally connected the celebrated half-breed Mohawk chief, BRANDT, with this bloody expedition. But the late Colonel William L. Stone, in his Life of that chief, clearly shows that Brandt was not present on that occasion. And in his "History of Wyoming," he says that he (the author) made a journey into the Seneca country, and pushed the investigation among the surviving chiefs and warriors of the Senecas engaged in that campaign. The result was a triumphant acquittal of Brandt from all participation therein.—*Hist. of Wyoming*, p. 192.

ing danger, had written to Washington for relief, but the letter did not reach him. On the appearance of the enemy the people appointed Zebulon Butler, a cousin of the tory Colonel, to the command of all the militia in the settlement, amounting, at the four different forts they had hastily erected, to about five hundred men. The first fort attacked surrendered at once, and the second did so after a conflict. The women and children were spared, but every man was butchered. The people then all fled into the principal fort, called Kingston, where they might have defended themselves until succor arrived, had their leader been an efficient man. John Butler appeared before the fort, and promised Zebulon, if he would come out to a certain point some distance from it, he would propose satisfactory terms of accommodation. Zebulon went out, taking four hundred men with him, but on arriving at the designated spot, found no one there. He pressed onwards into the forest, seeking for his cousin, until he was suddenly attacked by an ambush, and a large number of his party were killed. He, with a few others, made their escape to the other side of the river. John Butler now returned and invested the fort, and to intimidate the inmates, several reeking scalps from the heads of their brethren, were thrown into the fortification.

Colonel Dennison, left in command, seeing resistance useless, sent out a flag to inquire what terms would be allowed the garrison on surrendering the fort. Butler replied, "The hatchet!" Dennison made all resistance possible, but having lost nearly all his soldiers, he surrendered at discretion. The savages entered the fort and murdered every man; and then, confining the women and children in the houses and barracks, set fire to them and consumed all within. The fourth fort and its inmates were treated in the same way, and then those savage butchers proceeded with fire and sword to devastate the country. The crops of every kind were consumed, granaries and dwellings were reduced to ashes, and that valley which a few weeks previously presented an image of Paradise, now exhibited the blackness of solitary desolation—the foot-prints of the arch ruler of Pandemonium.

This destruction of Wyoming made a shudder of horror run through the States, and a retaliatory step was soon taken. Washington sent Morgan's rifle corps, and some regiments besides, who rushed upon the Indian settlements, laid waste their fields, burned their villages, and drove them like chaff before the wind, far back into the wilderness.[a] Early the following spring a similar expedition, under Colonel Clarke, was sent against the Canadian and tory settlements west of the Alleghanies. The affrighted

[a] October.

tories eagerly swore allegiance to the United States, while the hostile savages upon the Ohio and Wabash were attacked, and their whole country desolated. It was a fearful retaliation, hardly justified even by the powerful argument presented by the scene of horrors at Wyoming.

In November,[a] a band of tories, British regulars and Indians, attempted a repetition of the Wyoming tragedy upon the settlement at Cherry Valley, in New York. They took the settlement by surprise, killed many of the inhabitants, and quite a number were carried into captivity, generally among the Indians at that day, a condition worse than death. The fort, containing about two hundred soldiers, was not taken, and its defensive power prevented a general slaughter of the inhabitants. These bloody Indian expeditions, and a few predatory excursions of regulars and loyalists, intent chiefly on plunder, are the sum of the closing military operations of the year in the northern and middle States. The arena of stirring events was transferred to the southern States, where, until the close of the war, the British conducted their chief offensive operations. Sir Henry Clinton, with a large portion of his army, went into winter quarters in New York, and about the same time, Washington encamped the Americans for the winter at various points.*

[a] Nov. 11, 12.

At the extreme southern limits of the States, tory refugees and Indians made several predatory incursions during the summer, laying waste the western portion of Georgia, and cutting off the inhabitants in detail. A large body of these refugees penetrated to the fort at Sunbury, and summoned the commander, Colonel McIntosh, to surrender the place. He gave them the Spartan answer, "Come and take it." This bold answer intimidated them, and they left the fort unmolested. Another strong party marched towards Savannah, but were constantly harassed by the militia. When they reached the Ogeechee River they found a force of two hundred patriots ready to defend the passage. Like the party that approached Sunbury, they prudently turned back, burned the village of Midway, desolated the rice-fields and other grain with fire, and carried off all the negroes, cattle, and other property of the planters. General Robert Howe, who had command of the Georgia militia and regulars, in retaliation for these incursions, which proceeded from East Florida,

* Nine brigades, exclusive of the garrison at West Point, were stationed on the west side of Hudson's River; seven at Middlebrook, in New Jersey; and six on the east side of the Hudson, and at West Point, as follows: one at West Point, two at Continental Village, and three in the vicinity of Danbury, in Connecticut. The artillery was at Pluckemin. A line of cantonments was thus formed around New York, from Long Island Sound to the Delaware.—*Sparks*, p. 283.

marched a force of two thousand men into that territory with the intention of destroying St. Augustine. But he found a deadlier enemy there than British or tory soldiers, in the malaria of the fens and swamps, which carried off about one-fourth of his troops, and obliged him to make a hasty retreat.

In November, General Sir H. Clinton despatched Colonel Campbell from New York[a] with a force of about two thousand men, to operate against Georgia, then the feeblest of the States. Clinton was determined to change the plan of operations entirely. Heretofore, the subjugation of the States had been attempted by approaches from the North, but the defeat of Burgoyne so completely destroyed power in that quarter, that the British Commander-in-chief determined hereafter to commence at the south, and extend conquest northward into the Middle States.

[a] Nov. 27.

Colonel Campbell arrived at Savannah late in December,[b] and six days afterwards[c] effected a landing without much opposition, under cover of the squadron of Sir Hyde Parker. General Robert Howe was there with about six hundred Continental soldiers and two hundred and fifty militia. He had a strong position, surrounded, except in front, by a morass, swamp, and river, which seemed impassable. But a negro knew of a small path through the morass, leading to the rear of the Americans, and by his guidance, a detachment of light infantry under Sir James Baird, marched to, and fell upon the rear of the Americans. Thus entrapped, they fought bravely and desperately, but were finally overcome.[d] Upwards of one hundred Americans were killed, four hundred and fifty-three taken prisoners, and forty-eight pieces of cannon, twenty-three mortars, the fort, the shipping in the river, and a large quantity of provisions were captured by the enemy.

[b] Dec. 23.

[c] Dec. 29.

[d] Dec. 29.

The remnant of the American army retreated into South Carolina; and Augusta, and Sunbury,[e] soon after falling into the hands of the British, the whole of Georgia became in possession of the enemy. This was the only important acquisition which the British made during the campaign; and at the close of this year, the two belligerent armies at the north occupied nearly the same relative position which they did at the close of 1776, two years before.

[e] Jan. 9, 1779.

During these operations upon land, our little navy, though still an infant in its nurse's arms, compared to that of Britain,* began to put forth its strength, in conjunctive operations with the French fleet,

* Great Britain had at that time three hundred and seventy-three ships of all rates.

which in November[a] sailed from Boston to the West Indies, for the purpose of attacking the British dependencies in that quarter. On the same day Admiral Hotham sailed from Sandy Hook, and was soon after followed by Admiral Byron,[b] with a determination to attack the French settlements there, before D'Estaing should reach his destination. The two fleets of D'Estaing and Hotham sailed nearly parallel with each other all the way, mutually ignorant of their approximation. D'Estaing shaped his course for Martinique, and Hotham for Barbadoes. Each fleet carried out a considerable land force, and for some time the contest was carried on among the West India Islands with nearly equal success.

[a] Nov. 3.

[b] Dec. 5.

The American navy consisted chiefly of small armed vessels, commanded by commissioned privateersmen, and did much service about this time, not only along our coast, but among the West Indies, and on the European shores. A gallant engagement between the American ship Randolph, of thirty-six guns, commanded by Captain Biddle, of Philadelphia, and the British sixty-four gun ship Yarmouth, took place on the seventh of March of this year not far from the Bermuda Islands. The British ship was nearly disabled, when by some means fire was communicated to the magazine of the Randolph, and she blew up, destroying nearly all on board, among whom was the commander.

The most daring naval enterprises at this time, on the part of the Americans, were planned and executed by John Paul Jones, a Scotchman by birth, but an American by choice. As early as 1775, when Congress designated a number of captains and lieutenants for a naval armament on the Delaware, Jones's name appeared at the head of the list of the latter officers. He was ordered to the Alfred, of thirty guns, then at Philadelphia, and there hoisted the first American flag raised on board a vessel in the service of the Continental Congress. He afterwards had the command of the Providence, and subsequently, in the autumn of 1777, he took command of the Ranger, of eighteen guns, and proceeded to Brest, on the coast of France, where, after much adroit negotiation, although the treaty of alliance had not been completed, he obtained a salute for the American flag, from the commander of the French fleet. From Brest he proceeded[c] along the coast of Great Britain, spreading consternation wherever he went. Our space will not allow us to follow him in his bold career at this time. He made descents upon various places—with a few men spiked all the cannon of two forts, first securing the sentinels; and, but for an accident, he would have burned two hundred ships in Whitehaven, in the North of Eng-

[c] April 10

land. Off Carrickfergus he had an engagement with the British sloop-of-war Drake, of twenty guns, which had been admirably fitted out for the express purpose of capturing the Ranger. After a severe action of an hour, Jones compelled her to strike her colors, and he carried her in triumph into Brest.[a]* [a] May 7.

The day before this action, he landed upon St. Mary's Island, on the coast of Scotland, with the intention of capturing the Earl of Selkirk, who resided there, hoping thereby to enable Congress to obtain more equal terms in the exchange of prisoners. But his scheme was defeated by the absence of his lordship. Jones found it impossible to restrain his men from plunder, and they carried away all the family plate, which was afterwards restored by the noble commodore, for which he received a formal acknowledgment from Lord Selkirk.†

Before closing the record of events for the year, let us take a brief glance at the action of the respective legislatures of America and Great Britain. On the part of the British Parliament, we have but little to record having a direct bearing upon our subject, in addition to the notices of transactions during the early part of the year, to which we have already alluded. The alliance between the United States and France had of course given great offence to the British government, and the manner in which that alliance was made known to ministers by the French Ambassador, was considered a direct and intentional insult.‡ Whether it was intended to be so or not, it was,

* He was absent from Brest about twenty-seven days, during which time he had taken two hundred prisoners; and of one hundred and twenty-three men which were with him when he sailed, only two were left on board with him, the others having been distributed among the various prizes he had taken.

† This affair has been greatly misrepresented by partial British writers. The anti-American editor of the "Civil and Military Transactions" department of the fifth volume of the Pictorial History of England, unjustly stigmatizes the noble character of Jones, by this brief notice of the event:—"He made a descent at the mouth of the Dee, near to Kirkcudbright, and plundered the house of the Earl of Selkirk. He carried off all the plate and other valuable articles."* The well-known fact is withheld, that he transmitted a communication from Brest, to the Countess Selkirk, in which he informed her that it would be his pleasure to become the purchaser of the plate when sold, and return it to her by such conveyance as she should designate. He faithfully performed this promise, though at great trouble and expense, and the plate was restored in its original condition.

‡ De Noailles, the French Ambassador, was the uncle of La Fayette's wife, and had given that young nobleman much encouragement, when he visited him in London and opened to him his scheme for joining the American army. On the 17th of March, the Ambassador sent the following note to Lord North:—"The United States of North America, who are in full possession of independence, as pronounced by them on the fourth of July, 1776, having proposed to the King of France, to consolidate by a formal convention, the connexion begun to be established between the two nations, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed a treaty of friendship and

* Page 397.

Signing of the Treaty of Alliance at Paris. P. 270.

under the circumstances, too ironical to admit of any other construction. It greatly incensed ministers, and the alliance awakened in the breasts of the people at large the slumbering spirit of ancient feuds which had so long existed between the two nations. When the notification was received in the House, Lord North moved an appropriate address to the King. The opposition at once moved an amendment, requesting his Majesty to dismiss the ministry! The original address was carried by a majority of two hundred and sixty-three against one hundred and thirteen. In the House of Lords the same amendment to the address was proposed, but negatived by a large majority.

We have already alluded to the debates which followed, during one of which the Earl of Chatham was seized with his last illness. On the seventh of July Parliament was prorogued until November; and the King, in his closing speech, declared that it was his uniform desire to preserve the peace of Europe; that the faith of treaties and the law of nations had been his rule of conduct; and, alluding to France, "Let that power," said he, "by whom this tranquillity shall be broken, answer to its subjects and to the world for all the fatal consequences of war!"

When Parliament assembled on the twenty-fifth of November, the King, in his speech, proceeded directly to the conduct of France. "In a time of profound peace," said he, "without pretence of provocation, or color of complaint, the Court of France hath not

commerce, designed to serve as a foundation for their mutual good correspondence. His Majesty (the French King) being resolved to cultivate the present good understanding subsisting between France and Great Britain, by every means compatible with his dignity and the good of his subjects, thinks it necessary to make his proceedings known to the Court of London, and to declare at the same time that the contracting parties have paid great attention not to stipulate any exclusive advantages in favor of the French nation, and that the United States have reserved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever, upon the same footing of equality and reciprocity. In making this communication to the Court of London, the King is firmly persuaded it will find new proofs of his Majesty's constant and sincere disposition for peace, and that his Britannic Majesty, animated by the same friendly sentiments, will equally avoid everything that may alter their good harmony, and that he will particularly take effectual measures to prevent the commerce between his (French) Majesty's subjects and the United States of America from being interrupted, and to cause all the usages received between commercial nations to be, in this respect, observed, and all those rules which can be said to subsist between the two Courts of France and Great Britain. In this just confidence, the undersigned Ambassador thinks it superfluous to acquaint the British Minister that the King, his master, being determined to protect effectually the lawful commerce of his subjects, and to maintain the dignity of his flag, has, in consequence, taken effectual measures in concert with the Thirteen United and Independent States of America."

forborne to disturb the public tranquility, in violation of the faith of treaties, and the general rights of sovereigns; at first by the clandestine supply of arms and other aid to my revolted subjects in North America, afterwards by avowing openly their support, and entering into formal engagements with the leaders of the rebellion, and at length, by committing open hostilities and depredations on my faithful subjects, and by an actual invasion of my dominions in America and the West Indies." He alluded to the want of success in America; the means that had been put forth to suppress the rebellion; the complete failure of the commissioners to conclude a peace, and the evident preparations for hostilities which Spain was making. He closed his address by calling upon Parliament to put forth their utmost energies which the crisis demanded, assuring them that his cordial co-operation would always be extended, and informed them that he had called out the militia for the defence of the country. In fact, the King carefully avoided casting censure upon ministers for the late miscarriages in America, and, by implication, fixed the blame upon the commanders in that service. The address was warmly opposed in both Houses, and in the Commons, the King was charged with uttering falsehoods,—throwing "a false, unjust, and illiberal slander on the commanders in the service of the Crown; loading them with a censure which ought to fall on ministers alone." Yet ministers were still supported by pretty large majorities in both Houses, while the war-spirit, renewed by the French alliance, was hourly increasing among the multitude without.

After the reception and ratification of the treaty with France, and the rejection of the overtures and indignant dismission of the English Commissioners, Congress, as we have before mentioned, arranged an expedition against Canada. The plan was an extensive one, and well conceived, and no doubt would have been successful, had they possessed sufficient pecuniary resources to properly sustain an army sent on an errand of conquest into an enemy's country. It was arranged that one division was to proceed against Niagara and Detroit; another corps was to be stationed on the Mohawk River during the winter, and to be reinforced in the spring by a powerful army, when Oswego was to be seized and the navigation of Lake Ontario secured with vessels built upon its shores, as had been done by both Americans and British on Lake Champlain; and another corps was to penetrate into Canada by the way of St. John's on the Sorel, Montreal, and Quebec. The conquest of Nova Scotia and the re-occupation of the Newfoundland fishing grounds, were included in the plan; in fact, it was designed to strip Great Britain of

every foot of soil she possessed in America. Congress relied much upon French fleets and armies to assist in this enterprise.*

This scheme was not officially made known to Washington until October, and then it was coupled with a request that he should forward it to Doctor Franklin, by La Fayette, who was about to leave for Paris.†

Washington at once perceived the utter impossibility of success in such an enterprise, and his sagacious mind clearly penetrated the covert designs of the French. He at once wrote a long letter to Congress, in which he entered minutely into the subject, and showed that the plan was impracticable; that it required resources which were not to be had; that it would involve Congress in engagements to their ally, which it would be impossible to fulfil; and that it was in itself so extensive and complicated, as to hold out no reasonable hope of success, even with all the requisite means of pursuing it. He warned Congress to beware how they allowed France to have power to assume dominion again in America. "France," said he, "acknowledged for some time past the most powerful monarchy in Europe by land, able now to dispute the empire of the sea with Great Britain, and, if joined with Spain, I may say certainly superior; possessed of New Orleans on our right, Canada on our left, and seconded by the numerous tribes of Indians in our rear, from one extremity to the other, a people so generally friendly to her, and whom she knows so well how to conciliate, would, it is much to be apprehended, have it in her power to give law to these States."‡

The opinions of Washington had such weight with Congress, that they determined to abandon the scheme for the conquest of Canada until the evacuation of America by the British troops, which it was

* It is supposed that the French officers were the earliest and most active movers in this scheme; doubtless with the ulterior design of once again securing to France the territory she resigned by the treaty of Paris in 1763. From such motives La Fayette may not be considered as acting. He was warmly in favor of the plan, but his zeal was the offspring of patriotism and a thirst for glory. D'Estaing even published a manifesto, directed to the Canadians, reminding them of their French origin, and the happiness they had enjoyed under the rule of the Bourbons, and promised that all the ancient subjects of the French King in America, who should renounce allegiance to the British Crown, should receive protection.

† La Fayette obtained from Congress a furlough to make a short visit to France, but was detained by sickness several months, and did not leave until late in autumn. He first asked permission to go and offer his services to his King in the war which he saw was inevitable in Europe, but Washington, knowing the value of his name, and feeling great affection and high esteem for him, desired that only a temporary leave might be granted him, and that he should retain his appointment in the American army. His wishes were cheerfully acceded to by La Fayette.

‡ Sparks, p. 289.

believed would take place the ensuing spring. With this view, they shaped the plans of the next campaign, and again urged Washington to write to La Fayette, then at Boston, and to Dr. Franklin, in order to gain the co-operation of France in the conquest of Canada, after the close of the next supposed brief campaign. This pleased the Commander-in-chief no better than the former unconditional plan, for he had no hopes of the departure of the British troops as early as Congress anticipated.

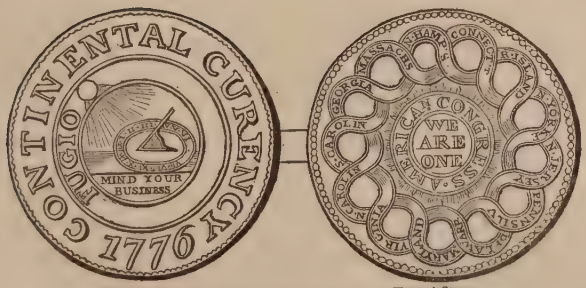
Having secured his army in winter-quarters, Washington obtained leave from Congress to go to Philadelphia, and have a personal interview with members of that body. He arrived in Philadelphia on the twenty-fourth of December, and, after several discussions between him and a committee of Congress, the Canada scheme was wholly laid aside as impracticable.*

The exchange of prisoners was a source of much trouble to the Commander-in-chief. Although Congress ratified the convention of Saratoga, yet, for various reasons, Burgoyne and his army were not allowed to sail for England according to the terms of that convention. It was finally arranged that these troops should be exchanged for American prisoners in possession of the British. But the details of this arrangement presented so many difficulties, that it gave Washington much vexatious trouble, and called down upon his head not a little censure from the enemy, when, in fact, the censure, if deserved, should have been laid upon Congress.

There was another cause of great anxiety to Washington, which he felt more seriously at this time, than at any former period. The men of talents and influence who had taken the lead, and put forth their combined strength in raising the standard of Independence, had gradually withdrawn from Congress, till that body was left small in number, and deficient in the talent then so much needed. During the year 1778, the number of delegates present had seldom averaged over thirty, and sometimes it was under twenty-five. Sometimes, whole States were unrepresented ; and it was seldom the case that every State had a competent number of representatives to entitle it to a vote. And never had party feuds and private jealousies been more rife in the council of the States than at this time, presenting a most alarming disunity at the very moment when undivided effort was specially needed. These internal dissensions threatened to effect the failure of the attempt of the States to gain real and acknowledged independence, and they filled the mind of Washington with gloomy forebodings,† not in anticipation of final defeat and ruin, for

* Sparks, p. 290. † Ib., pp. 285, 286.

he was still hopeful and confiding in the arm of Providence, and conscious of the justice of the cause, but he dreaded the protraction of the war, and the consequent suffering and woe. Yet, while relying firmly in simple faith upon the aid of Providence, he wisely acted upon the principle of Cromwell's injunction to his men when crossing a morass to attack the royal troops at Devizes, "*Trust in Providence, but keep your powder dry.*" He early planned extensive arrangements for a vigorous campaign in the spring, and fearing that the British detachments which sailed from New York in November, and had already captured Savannah, and in a measure dispersed the American forces there, might act in the winter against South Carolina and Georgia, by order of Congress, he sent General Lincoln to take the command of the southern department. At the same time, the four regiments of American cavalry were widely separated, for the two-fold purpose of extensive observation, and a plentiful supply of forage for the horses. One was stationed at Winchester, in Virginia; another at Frederick, in Maryland; a third at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania; and a fourth at Durham, in Connecticut.



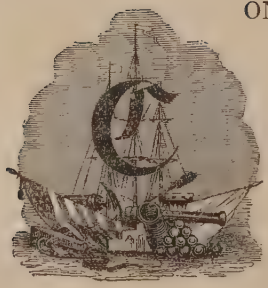
Fac Simile of the first Money coined by the United States.

(The metal looks like pewter.)

EVENTS OF 1779.

General Benjamin Lincoln—General Anthony Wayne—Silas Deane.

CHAPTER IX.



CONGRESS had the valuable personal aid of Washington for about five weeks in maturing plans for the campaign of 1779. He held daily conferences with committees of that body, and suggested three distinct plans, with observations on the method of executing them, and the probable result of each. The first plan was to dislodge the enemy from all his posts upon the sea-coast, and prevent assistance from abroad; the second was an offensive position, by attacking Niagara, and taking possession of the ports on Lake Ontario; and the third proposed to hold the army entirely

on the defensive, except some necessary expeditions against the Indians and tory settlers on the frontiers, who had committed many and cruel depredations during the preceding year, and thus, by severity of chastisement, deter them from the commission of like ravages.

It was decided to adopt the latter plan, in favor of which there was a combination of good reasons. The chief of these was, that it would be the least expensive mode of operation, and this consideration was a serious one at that time. Never, since the commencement of the war, were the finances of the country in a worse state than at the beginning of 1779; and in this respect the future, from this point of view, looked gloomy indeed. Efforts had been repeatedly made to negotiate loans in Europe; but the political character of America was little known on that continent, and all the loans that were obtained were in comparatively small sums. The States therefore had no other resource than to emit bills of credit, or paper money. In 1775 they issued three millions of dollars, and, becoming a circulating medium, these bills proved to be of great utility, being everywhere readily taken at par value. These issues were from time to time repeated, until, at the commencement of 1779, the amount had risen to over one hundred millions of dollars, and in the course of that year, it was swelled to double that amount. Taxation was not resorted to, until near the close of 1777,[a] when Congress ventured to make a requisition of five millions of dollars annually; but the States faintly responded to the requirement, and the paper money was the only pecuniary means in the power of Congress to carry on the war.

[a] Nov.

The necessary consequence of such an immense issue of bills of credit, was a depreciation of the notes to about a fortieth of their nominal value, and hence there was a miserable derangement in all mercantile and money transactions. The evil was aggravated, too, by inadequate remedies. The paper, at its nominal value, was made a legal tender for all debts; and by this measure, which Washington deeply deplored, many creditors, both public and private, were defrauded, but no permanent relief could be afforded, for confidence was destroyed.* As the articles furnished

* Rumors having been circulated that Congress would not redeem these bills of credit, destroyed all confidence in them; and this effect caused that body to pass a formal resolution on the twenty-ninth of December, 1778, declaring that the said report is false and derogatory to the honor of Congress. On the thirty-first of December, they adopted a resolution calling upon the States to pay in a quota of six millions of dollars, for eighteen years, commencing with 1780, as a fund for sinking the loans and emissions to the thirty-first day of December, 1778. This was in

the army, like all others, rose to an enormous nominal value, Congress, very injudiciously, fixed a maximum price, above which the articles to be purchased, should not be received. The consequence was, that at this stipulated rate, none could be got; and the army would assuredly have perished had not this absurd regulation been speedily rescinded.*

After completing all the necessary arrangements for the campaign,† Washington took his leave of Congress, and repaired to his headquarters at Middlebrook, in New Jersey, where he commenced the work of recruiting without delay, as the term of service for which a large number of the troops had been engaged would expire in a few weeks. But the increase of the army was slow by this process, for the dissatisfaction arising from the unequal distribution of bounties, and the enormous value which the depreciation of the currency had given to labor, made it easy for the soldier, who followed war as a profession, to obtain more money in other pursuits than the amount of bounty and pay combined.‡

The belligerent operations during this year, were carried on in three separate quarters. The forces of Washington and Clinton were employed in the northern section of the Union; the British forces sent south in November, prosecuted their plan of reducing Georgia and South Carolina, while the fleets of England and France combated among the West India Islands.

As already stated, Congress despatched General Lincoln in January to take command of some regiments raised in North Carolina, and to unite them with the remnant of the troops dispersed by Campbell at the battle of Savannah in December.[a] He took post at Perrysburg,[b] about twenty miles from Savannah, on the north bank of the Savannah River, and there, with the remains of General Robert Howe's forces, formed the nucleus of an army of operation. About the same time, Colonel Campbell, emboldened by the events at Savannah, and relying upon the numerical strength of the loyalists in that region, undertook an expedition against Augusta, the chief town of Upper Georgia, distant about one hundred and fifty miles from the sea coast. The people were

[a] 1778.

[b] Jan. 3.

addition to fifteen millions of dollars, asked from the States, to meet the expenses of 1779.—*Journals*, vol. iv., pp. 742, 746.

* Pitkin, vol. ii., p. 155.

† The infantry of the Continental army was organized for the campaign, in eighty-eight battalions; apportioned to the several States according to the ratio hitherto assumed. There were four regiments of cavalry, and forty-nine companies of artillery.—*Sparks*, p. 294.

‡ The Continental bounty was raised to two hundred dollars, besides land and clothing; and in some instances, the bounty was even still higher.

intimidated, and great numbers took the oath of allegiance to the British Crown, and joined the ranks of the enemy. Several hundreds of tories, a large proportion of whom were men of infamous character, were collected under a Colonel Boyd, and like a swarm of voracious locusts, marched along the south-western portion of the State of North Carolina, plundering and appropriating to their own use every kind of property they could possibly carry away with them. On attempting to force their way into Georgia to join the royal troops under Campbell, they were met at Kettle Creek by a large number of whig militia of the district of Ninety-Six, under Colonel Pickens, and, after a desperate engagement, were totally routed.[a] Colonel Boyd was killed with about forty of his troops, and seventy of his men who were captured were tried and found guilty of treason—but five only were executed. About a month previous to this, General Prevost, with a body of British troops from East Florida, captured the fort at Sunbury,[b] the only military post in Georgia then in possession of the Americans.* Shortly after the battle at Kettle Creek, Campbell quitted the country to return to England, and Prevost was appointed to the chief command of the southern British army. Having now full possession of Georgia, which event was the extent of General Clinton's plan, Prevost determined to exceed his orders and make a demonstration upon South Carolina. He accordingly sent Major-General Gardiner with a numerous corps, against Port Royal, in South Carolina, but they were met by a considerable force under General Moultrie, and defeated, with severe loss.

[a] Feb. 14.

[b] Jan. 9.

In order to encourage and support the tories, the British army extended their posts up the Savannah River as far as Augusta. General Lincoln fixed his encampment at Black Swamp, on the north side of the Savannah River. He had been joined[c] by about eleven hundred Carolina militia under Generals Ash and Rutherford. Lincoln's army consisted of about fourteen hundred men, making the whole American force in that quarter two thousand four hundred and twenty-eight, rank and file.

[c] Jan. 31.

Encouraged by recent success, General Lincoln sent a detachment of about fifteen hundred militia, and a few regular troops, in all, nearly two thousand men, under General Ash, across the river, for the purpose of driving back the enemy and confining them to the low and unhealthy country near the ocean. The British evacuated Augusta when the Americans approached, and General Ash followed

* The garrison consisted of only two hundred men. The fort was captured at the same time that Campbell set out to execute the same mission.

the retreating garrison as far as Briar Creek, where he took post. He had not been there long before Prevost, who was posted at Hudson's Ferry, determined to attack him. So sudden were his movements, that he took General Ash completely by surprise.[a] He came upon him with about nine hundred men, a large number of them tories; and, notwithstanding it was open daylight, so panic-struck were the American militia, that they fled without firing a shot. About one hundred and fifty fell by the first fire of the enemy, and a large number were either drowned in the Savannah River, or were engulfed in the deep morasses that flanked its margin. The regular troops made a gallant resistance, but, abandoned by the militia, they were compelled to retreat before overwhelming numbers. General Rutherford together with about thirty officers and two hundred men, were taken prisoners, and so completely defeated were the Americans, that when General Ash rejoined Lincoln he had only about four hundred and fifty men. The Americans lost seven pieces of cannon, and all their arms and ammunition.

[a] March 3.

This victory at Briar Creek rendered the royal troops again complete masters of Georgia. General Prevost immediately began the re-organization of the government in that State, and employed every means in his power to win the people over to the royal cause. But the Carolinians in the meanwhile were not idle. They were defeated but not disheartened, and vigorous measures were adopted to assemble the militia and inspire them with new ardor. John Rutledge, a man of extensive influence, was elected Governor of the State, and he and his council were invested with dictatorial powers; high bounties were offered and severe penalties threatened; regiments of horse were organized; and so ardent became the zeal of the people, that by the middle of April, five thousand fighting men were gathered around the standard of General Lincoln.

Leaving General Moultrie with about fifteen hundred men to watch the movements of Prevost, Lincoln proceeded[a] with the main body of his army up the left bank of the Savannah, and crossed over into Georgia, near Augusta, with the intention of marching upon the capital of the State. General Prevost, whose army had been augmented by tories, having perceived the movement of Lincoln, put himself at the head of three thousand men, English, tories and Indians, passed the Savannah[b] and its fearful marshes, and attacked the American camp, hoping thereby to induce Lincoln to return. Moultrie was assisted by the gallant Pulaski and his light-horse, but was soon obliged to retreat towards Charleston before a greatly superior force. Prevost, astonished at

[a] April 23.

[b] April 28.

his own success, resolved to turn what was intended as a mere feint to allure Lincoln back, to some account, and at once planned an attack upon Charleston. Thus, at the same time, Lincoln was pushing forward on one side of the river to capture Savannah, the capital of Georgia, and General Prevost, on the other side of the river, was hurrying forward to attack Charleston, the capital of South Carolina.

As soon as Lincoln was apprised of the march of Prevost upon the capital, he detached a body of infantry mounted on horseback, towards Charleston, and hastily collecting the militia of the upper country, crossed the river with his whole force, to defend the town. Moultrie, on his retreat, destroyed all the bridges upon the route, and this so delayed the British army, that it did not reach Charleston until the eleventh of May. On the following day[a] Prevost summoned the town to surrender. Governor Rutledge had arrived there previously, and Count Pulaski, with his *Legion*, was also on the spot. Batteries had been raised on the land side of the town. The suburbs were burnt down, and a great number of cannon were so arranged as to afford a strong defence against attacks from the interior.

[a] May 12.

Governor Rutledge, in order to give Lincoln time to arrive, opened negotiations with Prevost for surrendering, and ingeniously contrived to spend a day in the interchange of messages and answers. Perceiving the strength of the batteries, and apprehending the near approach of Lincoln, the British general wisely determined to withdraw his troops, and abandon the enterprise. He accordingly crossed the Ashley River, and proceeded to the island of St. John's, separated from the main land by an inlet called Stono River. Leaving a strong division at Stono Ferry, Prevost retired with a part of his army towards Savannah. On the twentieth of June, Lincoln attacked the division at Stono Ferry, but, after a severe battle of an hour and twenty minutes, he was repulsed with a loss of one hundred and seventy-nine men. The British soon after established a post at Beaufort, upon the salubrious island of Port Royal, after which the main body of the army retired to Savannah. General Lincoln with his army took post at Sheldon, near Beaufort.

The hot and sickly season having now commenced, both armies ceased operations, and nothing of importance was done in the southern department of the Union by the belligerent forces until the arrival of the French fleet[b] under Count D'Estaing. The royal cause lost many friends during this southern campaign, in consequence of the bad conduct of the English officers and soldiers. Their career was marked by peculiar ferocity, and the negro slaves

[b] Sept. 9.

were used as instruments in the execution of their plunders and wanton destruction of property. Not satisfied with pillaging, they spared, in their brutality, neither women, nor children, nor sick. Houses were stripped of their rich furniture; individuals robbed of their ornaments; splendid mansions burned to the ground, and even cattle were wantonly destroyed.* The heart sickens at the recital of the wicked deeds of the British soldiery in Georgia, and makes one "hang his head and blush to call himself a man." Indeed, during the whole war, the two armies exhibited a striking contrast in this particular. While the English exhibited a ferocious spirit towards their enemies, the Americans were constantly manifesting humanity and generous forbearance. This fact is admitted by British writers.

While these various events were transpiring at the south, Virginia, New York, and the New England States, became the theatre of predatory warfare. Washington had determined to act on the defensive, for reasons already stated, and the English wisely resolved to confine their operations chiefly to the sea-coast. Sir George Collier had recently been appointed Commander-in-chief of the British naval forces on the American station, and on the eighth of May he entered the Chesapeake with a small squadron, having on board about eight hundred regular troops, and some Irish Volunteers, under General Mathews. The object of the expedition was to take possession of the naval station at Gosport, and to capture the military stores and shipping at Portsmouth and Norfolk, the two chief commercial cities of Virginia. Clinton was desirous of establishing a permanent post on the Chesapeake, from whence to make predatory incursions into the interior, or command the mouth of the rivers, and thus arrest the commerce of the Virginians; but he dared not weaken his force at New York. The only defence in possession of the Americans was Fort Nelson, on the bank of Elizabeth River, and this presented but a feeble barrier. The garrison consisted of only one hundred and fifty men, who, on the approach of the enemy, fled into a morass in the vicinity, leaving behind them all their artillery and stores. General Mathews took up his head-quarters there, and in the course of a few days made a terrible sweep, with fire and sword, of the whole neighboring coast. Public and private property was indiscriminately destroyed, and the most ferocious cruelty and devas-

* The heaviest loss of property which the planters of Carolina and Georgia had to sustain was that of their slaves. Upwards of four thousand of them were carried away, some to the English West India Islands, and others were left to perish of hunger in the woods and swamps.

tation everywhere marked the path of the invaders. Portsmouth and Norfolk were captured,[a] and everything that fell in the way of the enemy was utterly destroyed. One hundred and twenty-seven vessels were taken or burned, and other property, to the value of two and a half millions of dollars, was scattered to the winds of heaven. After destroying the navy-yard at Portsmouth, with eight ships of war which they found upon the stocks, the expedition returned to New York, from which, altogether, they had been absent only twenty-one days. It was a Vandal-like expedition, unjustified by necessity or utility.

[a] May 14.

A few days after their return to New York, Admiral Collier and General Mathews proceeded up the Hudson River with a fresh detachment of troops. They were accompanied by General Clinton, and the object of the expedition was to dislodge the Americans from Stony Point and Verplanck's Point, both of which places the latter were fortifying. The fort at Stony Point being unfinished, and affording small defence to its inmates, the Americans abandoned it on the approach of Clinton,[b] without firing a gun. Clinton then formed a strong battery of heavy guns and mortars, and opened a destructive fire across the river upon Fort La Fayette, at Verplanck's Point.* In the meanwhile, a detachment invested the fort on the land side, and from the river it was battered by shots from armed galleys. Finding resistance vain, the Americans soon surrendered conditional prisoners of war.[c] This was a severe loss to Washington, for, between these places, he had a most convenient communication for the two wings of his army on either side of the river.† These two forts also commanded the Hudson, and secured a free communication between the troops of New England and the central and southern portion of the confederacy. Clinton, having left considerable garrisons at both places, and commanded the immediate completion of the fort at Stony Point, returned to New York, having lost only one man.

[b] May 21.

[c] June 1.

In the early part of July, the infamous Governor Tryon was again sent into Connecticut with about two thousand six hundred men, for the express purpose of devastating the country. In such expeditions, and such alone, was Tryon employed, and generally his success was commensurate with his aspirations. With fagot in hand, and defenceless women and children fleeing before him, he was a brave soldier, and knowing his peculiar traits of greatness, General Clinton always employed him when anything particularly brutal in the way

* This fort was very complete. It had palisades, a double ditch, chevaux-de-frise, abattis, and a bomb-proof chevalier, or block-house, in its centre.

† The ferry was known as King's Ferry.

of pillage and incendiarism was to be performed, sure that the high trust was safely reposed in a faithful executor.

Tryon landed at East Haven, and issued a proclamation, calling upon the people to return to their allegiance, and threatening destruction to all who should refuse to obey. As a further inducement for the inhabitants to become loyal, he commenced plundering and burning the town simultaneously with the issuing of the proclamation. Having completed his work of destruction, he proceeded to New Haven, but was met on the way by a band of brave young men, principally students of Yale College, under Capt. Hillhouse, but they were soon driven back, and the enemy entered the town in triumph, destroying everything that fell in their way, artillery, ammunition, public stores, and an immense amount of private property, although the flame of the incendiary was withheld.[a] Proceeding immediately to Fairfield and Norwalk, he laid both those places in ashes,[b] and before applying the torch, the soldiers were allowed to enter the houses, break open trunks, desks, closets, and other places of deposit, and rob the people of clothing, money, jewelry, and every other article which their fancy or rapacity coveted, and at the same time abused the inhabitants with the foulest language. Some of the scenes enacted at Fairfield by Tryon's mercenaries, as appears by official affidavits, are almost too cruel and revolting for belief.* Having completed his work of destruction there, Tryon prepared to make a descent upon New London, but was hastily recalled by Clinton, who was either dissatisfied with his mode of warfare, or needed his services on the Hudson, where the Americans were gaining advantages.

[a] July 5.

[b] July 7 to 12.

The people of Connecticut felt themselves neglected by Washington, in not affording them some protection from these predatory

* Wanton outrages were committed on the inhabitants of Fairfield, who were left in the town, most of them of the feeble sex. Some of them, the first characters in the place, from a wish to save their property, and an indiscreet confidence in the honor of Governor Tryon, with whom they had been personally acquainted, and who had formerly received many civilities at their houses, risked their own persons and their honor, amidst the fury of a conquering enemy, on a kind of sham protection from that infamous leader. The principal ladies of Fairfield, from their little knowledge of the world, of the usages of armies, or the general conduct of men, where circumstances combine to render them savage, could not escape the brutality of the soldiery by showing their protections from Governor Tryon. Their houses were rifled, their persons shamefully abused, and after the general pillage and burning of everything valuable in the town, some of these miserable victims of sorrow were found, half distracted, in the swamps and in the fields, whither they had fled in the agonies of despair.—*Mrs. Warren*, vol. ii., pp. 146–7.

Tryon tried to defend his character against the just odium which his base conduct brought upon it, and boasted of his extreme clemency in allowing a single house to remain standing upon the New England coast!

expeditions, but the prudence of the Commander-in-chief clearly perceived how unwise it would be to divide his small army while in the immediate vicinage of a powerful enemy. Besides, he was determined to recapture Stony Point and Fort La Fayette, and thus efface the desponding impression of the troops and people, engendered by so many reverses. For this purpose he sent General Wayne, one of the most daring, yet prudent officers of his army, from his encampment among the Highlands at West Point, with a detachment to attack the fort at Stony Point. At the same time, General Robert Howe, with another detachment, was sent to attempt the capture of Fort La Fayette, at Verplanck's Point. The English had completed the Stony Point fort, and strongly garrisoned it. Its stores were abundant, and very formidable defensive preparations had been made. After a toilsome march of fourteen miles over high mountains and through deep morasses, Wayne arrived in sight of the fort about eight o'clock on the evening of the fifteenth of July, and, dividing his army into two columns, advanced without being perceived by the British. A vanguard of about one hundred and fifty men, noted for their skill and bravery, were put under the command of the brave Frenchman, Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury, and about half-past eleven o'clock at night, while the enemy were wrapped in slumber, moved upon the fort, followed by the main body, and at midnight the attack commenced. The garrison was soon under arms, and poured a destructive fire upon the advancing columns. A morass that covered the works in front, was overflowed by the tide, and presented a serious obstacle; but neither the broad morass, nor the volleys of musketry, nor the iron hail of the artillery, nor the strong bastioned rampart, alive with brave warriors, could avert the impetuous attack of the Americans, cheered on as they were by the loud voice of Wayne, whose blade flashed at every post of danger and duty.* Before the British had fairly recovered from the first panic of surprise, the two patriot columns advancing from different points, scaled the walls and met in the centre of the fortress. The British, ignorant of the number of the Americans, immediately surrendered, and before dawn[a] the stripes and stars floated triumphantly over the ramparts.† The number of prisoners was five hundred and forty-three. The enemy had sixty-three

[a] July 16.

* General Wayne's head was severely contused by a musket ball, before reaching the ramparts, which brought him to the ground. Instantly rising upon one knee, he exclaimed, "March on! carry me into the fort, for I will die at the head of my column!" The wound proved a comparatively slight one.

† Colonel Fleury struck the British flag with his own hands, and hoisted the American standard in its place.

killed; the Americans fifteen killed and eighty-three wounded. Several cannons and mortars of various sizes, a large number of muskets, shells, shot, and tents, and a considerable quantity of stores, were captured. This was one of the most brilliant achievements of the war. The commanding officers received the highest encomiums from Congress, and a grateful people poured out their praises upon them without stint.*

At early dawn the next morning, Wayne, imitating the example of Clinton, pointed his guns upon Fort La Fayette, and opened a destructive fire. He expected General Howe with his division would be there to co-operate with him by attacking the fort on the land side, but was disappointed; and Clinton, in the meanwhile, hearing of the attack upon Stony Point, sent a detachment up the river to dislodge the Americans. Washington had previously ordered Wayne to dismantle and abandon the fort when it should be captured, his chief object being the attainment of the ammunition and stores. Finding Fort La Fayette invulnerable to his shots across the river, Wayne, on the approach of Clinton's transports, ceased firing, and retreated back to the American camp. Clinton tried, by various manœuvres, to draw Washington out from his mountain fastnesses; but, failing in this, he placed a strong garrison at Stony Point, and returned to New York.

The brilliant success of Wayne at Stony Point greatly emboldened the Americans, and the British outposts which had been constantly harassed during the winter and spring by small detachments of the Republican army,† now suffered more than ever, and several daring achievements marked the American arms. Among them

* Congress ordered three different medals to be struck, emblematical of the action, and awarded respectively to General Wayne, Colonel Fleury, and Colonel Stewart. Wayne received the most flattering notices from the eminent men, civil and military, of the country. Benjamin Rush wrote to him, saying:—

"My dear Sir:—There was but one thing wanting in your late successful attack upon Stony Point to complete your happiness; and that is, the wound you received should have affected your *hearing*; for I fear you will be stunned through those organs with your own praises."

† During the winter, General Putnam was placed over three brigades at Danbury, Connecticut, and it was during his stay there, that his breakneck feat of descending a precipice on horseback was performed. Being at West Greenwich one day, he was informed that the infamous Tryon, of New York, with fifteen hundred men, was marching on the place. He at once assembled about one hundred and fifty soldiers, and planting two cannons upon a steep hill, he opened a destructive fire upon the enemy. When he saw the dragoons about to charge, he ordered his men to retreat into a swamp, while he waited until they approached very near, and then suddenly wheeling, reined his horse straight down the precipice, where there were about one hundred stone steps, and thus escaped. He then sped on to Stamford, where he found some militia, returned and chased Tryon back, and took about fifty prisoners.

was the capture of the fort at Paulus's Hook,* by a small party under Major Lee, a brave young Virginian. Washington instructed him not to attempt to retain it, after capturing it, but to retreat back to camp as speedily as possible. Before daylight on the morning of the nineteenth of July, Lee, with about three hundred Virginians and dismounted dragoons, reached the fort and took the garrison by surprise. Thirty of the enemy were killed, and one hundred and sixty were taken prisoners. The American loss in killed and wounded was about a dozen. Pursuant to instructions, Lee immediately retreated without spiking a gun or demolishing a rampart, and, with his prisoners, arrived safely within the American lines.

In June, a flotilla of thirty-seven sail, carrying three thousand troops, was sent from Boston against a British station upon the Penobscot River, which had been planted there to prevent an incursion of the New Englanders into Nova Scotia. General Lovell commanded the expedition, but on landing[a] he found the works too strong to be carried without the aid promised by Gates. Before its arrival, Sir George Collier, who had recently devastated the coast of Virginia, appeared in the river with a squadron from New York. Lovell immediately re-embarked his troops and made a show of resistance, but finding the enemy pressing upon him with superior force, he pushed for shore, abandoned his vessels, and escaped. The flotilla was utterly destroyed, and the soldiers and sailors were obliged to find their way back by land through a most dreary wilderness, enduring extreme hardship and suffering, and many perished in the woods.

[a] July 25.

The condition of affairs in the southern States, already recorded, claimed and received the earnest attention of Congress, and Washington considered it necessary to send thither a part of his little army, although the whole, and more, were needed for the defence of the northern section of the Union. D'Estaing, who was carrying on offensive operations against the British in the West Indies, was solicited to proceed immediately to the American coast, to assist in the labors of the fall campaign. The French commander had just defeated the English Admiral, Byron, and being thus almost master of the seas in that quarter, and having an ally at hand † to annoy his

* Now Jersey city, opposite the south end of New York.

† Early in the year, a transaction took place in Europe, which promised at its inception to be of signal service to the Americans, not so much by direct aid, but in crippling the power of Great Britain. Spain, after hesitating a long time, and being anxious to recover Gibraltar, Jamaica, and the two Floridas, which Britain had wrested from her, at last determined to join the confederacy with France, and on the twelfth of April concluded with her, for that purpose, a secret treaty of

enemy, he at once accepted the invitation, and early in September, arrived upon the coast of Georgia.*

He arrived at Savannah unexpectedly, with twenty ships of the line, bearing about six thousand land troops, and captured by surprise, a fifty gun ship and three frigates. General Prevost, having his army divided into detachments along the frontier, was not prepared for an attack, but so promptly were his orders for a general rendezvous obeyed, that before the French forces could land and form a junction with Lincoln, the British were nearly all concentrated at Savannah, the head-quarters of the General. On the 16th of September, D'Estaing appeared before the town with his whole force, and demanded its immediate surrender, which Prevost refused, having just been reinforced by Colonel Maitland. The officers of the allied armies, finding the place too strong to storm, after consultation, determined upon a siege, and for that purpose brought up the heavy artillery from the fleet. On the twenty-third of September they broke ground, but made very little progress before the first of October, when D'Estaing expressed his determination to leave the coast with his fleet, for more secure winter quarters! He proposed, however, to assist in *storming* the place before departing. This was agreed to, and on the ninth of October the assault commenced upon the enemy's works by a detachment of four thousand five hundred men, French and American, who advanced through a marshy hollow to within fifty yards of the walls. They pressed forward with great vigor, crossed the ditch, mounted the parapet, and planted the American flag upon the ramparts. But in this exposed state the severe fire of the enemy caused them to fall back, with great loss,

peace. She had repeatedly offered to mediate, but Britain steadily refused, because the acknowledgment of the actual independence of the United States was a condition. On the sixteenth of June, D'Almadovar, the Spanish Ambassador, left London, after leaving a note containing a statement of grievances, and issuing a manifesto with eighty-six *counts*, declaring the necessity of reducing the maritime power of Great Britain. Letters of marque and open war followed the publication of these documents. As stated in the text, the Americans exulted over this event, believing that the power of Britain to carry on the war here would be greatly weakened by the combination. "But," says Murray, "she roused herself, however, mightily to resist this new aggression; voluntary aids were poured in both by individual and public bodies; and she showed herself able, not only to contend with the united navies of the Bourbons, but even to bring again into jeopardy the Independence of her revolted Colonies!"—*Edinburgh Cab. Lib.*, vol. ii., p. 61.

* As soon as Sir Henry Clinton was informed of the arrival of D'Estaing upon our coast, he supposed that he would proceed northward, and, with Washington, make a combined attack on New York. This idea alarmed him, and he at once ordered the evacuation of Rhode Island, where six thousand men were stationed, and drew the troops to New York. Stony Point, and Verplanck's Point, were evacuated on the thirty-first of October, and the garrisons taken to the city.

after a furious contest of an hour. During the height of the assault, the brave Pole, Count Pulaski, at the head of two hundred light-horse, charged at full speed and attempted to penetrate into the town and attack the British rear. Being at the head of his squadron, he received a bullet wound which proved mortal, and his men, seeing their chief fall,* wheeled and retreated in great confusion. About the same time Colonel Maitland issued forth with a mixed corps of grenadiers and marines, charged the broken columns of the besiegers, and drove them back into the hollow by which they approached the walls. D'Estaing, anxious to sail before the autumnal storms should come on, refused to join Lincoln in a second attack upon the city, and consequently the siege was raised and the allied forces retreated, —the Americans across the Savannah into Carolina, and the French on board of their vessels.†

Sir Henry Clinton, informed of the success of the British arms at the south, determined to make that region his most important field of operations for the future, and planned the campaign of 1780 upon an extensive scale. He was more induced to make such arrangements because he had just received some reinforcements from Great Britain. Accordingly, leaving Knyphausen, with troops sufficient to defend New York against Washington, Clinton sailed[a] for Savannah, under convoy of Admiral Arbuthnot, with about seven thousand troops, where he arrived after a most tempestuous voyage of nearly a month, losing some of his vessels by wreck, and all his horses, and at once began active preparations for the spring campaign.

[a] Dec. 26.

During the summer of this year, an expedition under General Sullivan was sent against the Indian tribes called the Six Nations, upon the upper sources of the Susquehanna, who, with the exception of the Oneidas, incited by British agents, had for some time carried on a sort of guerilla warfare against the border settlements. Sullivan, with about three thousand troops, left Wyoming[b] and proceeded up the Susquehanna to Tioga Point, where he was joined[c] by General James Clinton, from the banks

[b] July 21.

[c] Aug. 22.

* The name of Pulaski, like that of Kosciusko, is dear to every American, because he was a lover of freedom, and, for the same reason, both are revered by every true son of Poland. He seemed to feel intensely the sentiment, "Where Liberty dwells there is my country." When Stanislaus, King of Poland, heard of his death, he exclaimed, "Pulaski! always valiant, but always foe to Kings!" Stanislaus had felt that bitter truth to his sorrow. Congress erected a monument at Savannah to the memory of Pulaski.

† The French encountered severe storms, and arrived at Brest in a greatly shattered condition. D'Estaing was one of the victims of the guillotine during the "Reign of Terror."

of the Mohawk, with about sixteen hundred men, making his effective force nearly five thousand.

At Elmira, in Chemung county, Sullivan found a party of Indians and tories about a thousand in number (eight hundred savages and two hundred whites), under the command of Brandt, Butler, and others, who were at the massacre of Wyoming the preceding year. They were strongly fortified, but Sullivan at once attacked them,[a] and, after a desperate resistance, the savages retreated back into the wilderness. Determined to chastise them severely, the Americans pursued them into the very heart of their country, and during the month of September, they desolated the whole domain to the Genesee River. They burned forty Indian villages, laid waste corn-fields, gardens, fruit trees, and every other vestige of cultivation left behind by the flying Indians and tories, destroying more than one hundred and fifty thousand bushels of corn. This expedition was a cruel one, and was hardly justifiable by any rule of right; yet it presented one of those stern necessities—an evil of great magnitude, requiring a severe remedy to avert serious consequences—which the exigencies of the times called forth. It greatly intimidated the Indians, and for a time the frontier settlements had repose.

[a] Aug. 29.

While the opposing armies in America, and the French and English fleets on that coast and in the West Indies, were alternately victorious and unsuccessful, our infant navy won new laurels upon the coasts of the British Islands, under the guidance of the intrepid Paul Jones. During the summer, the American Commissioners at Paris, aided by the French government, fitted out a squadron,* the command of which was given to Jones. In July, he sailed from L'Orient, in the Bon Homme Richard, accompanied by his squadron, and made directly for the western coast of Ireland. He first appeared off Kerry, and from thence sailed round the north of Scotland, and appeared off the port of Leith. There, in sight of the inhabitants, he captured several vessels, and was preparing to lay the town under contribution when a heavy storm arose and caused him to abandon his design. He then directed his course towards Flamborough Head, and when near there, he fell in just at evening[b] with a merchant fleet returning from the Baltic under convoy of the Serapis, of forty-four guns, and the Countess of Scarborough, of twenty guns. Jones, who had been engaged during the day in chasing and destroying one or two vessels, immediately pre-

[b] Sept. 23.

* The squadron consisted of the Bon Homme Richard, of forty guns, the Alliance, of thirty-six guns, the Pallas, a French frigate, of thirty-two guns, hired by the American Commissioners, and two smaller vessels.

pared for an attack upon this convoy. About seven o'clock in the evening the battle began, and so near was the scene of action to the shore, that the heights in the vicinity were crowded with people to witness the dreadful scene. The conflict that ensued has scarcely a parallel in history, and was one of the most brilliant actions among the many for which the War of Independence is distinguished. Commodore Jones himself gave the following graphic description of the battle :—

"The battle being thus begun, was continued with unremitting fury. Every method was practised on both sides to gain an advantage, and rake each other; and I must confess that the enemy's ship, being much more manageable than the Bon Homme Richard, gained thereby several times an advantageous situation, in spite of my best endeavors to prevent it. As I had to deal with an enemy of greatly superior force, I was under the necessity of closing with him, to prevent the advantage he had over me in point of manœuvre. It was my intention to lay the Bon Homme Richard athwart the enemy's bow; but as that operation required great dexterity in the management of both sails and helm, and some of our braces being shot away, it did not exactly succeed to my wish. The enemy's bowsprit, however, came over the Bon Homme Richard's poop, by the mizen-mast, and I made both ships fast together in that situation, which, by the action of the wind on the enemy's sails, forced her stern close to the Bon Homme Richard's bow, so that the ships lay square alongside of each other, the yards being all entangled, and the cannon of each ship touching the opponents. When this position took place it was eight o'clock, previous to which the Bon Homme Richard had received sundry eighteen-pound shots below the water, and leaked very much. My battery of twelve-pounders, on which I had placed my chief dependance, being commanded by Lieutenant Dale and Colonel Weibert, and manned principally with American seamen and French volunteers, was entirely silenced and abandoned. As to the six old eighteen-pounders that formed the battery of the lower gun-deck, they did no service whatever, except firing eight shots in all. Two out of three of them burst at the first fire, and killed almost all the men who were stationed to manage them. Before this time, too, Colonel de Chamillard, who commanded a party of twenty soldiers on the poop, had abandoned that station, after having lost some of his men. I had now only two pieces of cannon (nine-pounders) on the quarter-deck, that were not silenced, and not one of the heavier cannon was fired during the rest of the action. The purser, M. Mease, who commanded the guns on the quarter-deck, being dangerously wounded in the head, I was obliged to fill

his place, and with great difficulty rallied a few men and shifted over one of the lee quarter-deck guns, so that we afterwards played three pieces of nine-pounders upon the enemy. The tops alone seconded the fire of this little battery, and held out bravely during the whole of the action, especially the maintop, where Lieutenant Stack commanded. I directed the fire of one of the three cannons against the mainmast, with double-headed shot, while the other two were exceedingly well served with grape and canister-shot, to silence the enemy's musketry and clear her decks, which was at last effected. The enemy were, as I have since understood, on the instant of calling for quarter, when the cowardice or treachery of three of my under-officers induced them to call to the enemy. The English commodore asked me if I demanded quarter, and I having answered him in the most determined negative, they renewed the battle with double fury. They were unable to stand the deck; but the fire of their cannon, especially the lower battery, which was entirely formed of ten-pounders, was incessant; both ships were set on fire in various places, and the scene was dreadful beyond the reach of language. To account for the timidity of my three under-officers—I mean the gunner, the carpenter, and the master-at-arms—I must observe, that the first two were slightly wounded, and, as the ship had received various shots under water, and one of the pumps being shot away, the carpenter expressed his fears that she would sink, and the other two concluded that she was sinking, which occasioned the gunner to run aft on the poop, without my knowledge, to strike the colors. Fortunately for me, a cannon-ball had done that before, by carrying away the ensign-staff; he was therefore reduced to the necessity of sinking, as he supposed, or of calling for quarter, and he preferred the latter.

"All this time the Bon Homme Richard had sustained the action alone, and the enemy, though much superior in force, would have been very glad to have got clear, as appears by their own acknowledgments, and by their having let go an anchor the instant that I laid them on board, by which means they would have escaped, had I not made them well fast to the Bon Homme Richard.

"At last, at half-past nine o'clock, the Alliance appeared, and I now thought the battle at an end; but, to my utter astonishment, he discharged a broadside full into the stern of the Bon Homme Richard. We called to him for God's sake to forbear firing into the Bon Homme Richard; yet they passed along the off side of the ship, and continued firing. There was no possibility of his mistaking the Bon Homme Richard for the enemy's ship, there being the most essential difference in their appearance and construction. Besides, it

was then full moonlight, and the sides of the Bon Homme Richard were all black, while the sides of the prize were all yellow. Yet, for the greater security, I showed the signal of our reconnaissance, by putting out three lanterns, one at the head, another at the stern, and the third in the middle, in a horizontal line. Every tongue cried that he was firing into the wrong ship, but nothing availed; he passed round, firing into the Bon Homme Richard's head, stern, and broadside, and by one of his volleys killed several of my best men, and mortally wounded a good officer on the forecastle. My situation was really deplorable; the Bon Homme Richard received various shots under water from the Alliance; the leak gained on the pumps, and the fire increased much on board both ships. Some officers persuaded me to strike, of whose courage and good sense I entertain a high opinion. My treacherous master-at-arms let loose all my prisoners without my knowledge, and my prospects became gloomy indeed. I would not, however, give up the point. The enemy's mainmast began to shake, their firing decreased fast, ours rather increased, and the British colors were struck at half an hour past ten o'clock."

The Countess of Scarborough was also taken by the Pallas, but the merchantmen escaped. Jones sailed for Holland with his prizes, and anchored off the Texel on the third of October. The value of the prizes taken during his short cruise of less than three months, was estimated at upwards of a quarter of a million of dollars. The French government publicly gave him thanks, and Louis XVI. conferred upon him the Order of Merit. Congress also honored him with a vote of thanks, and by their order a gold medal was struck to commemorate the victory over the Serapis.

Thus ended the warlike operations of the year 1779. The main division of the American army of the north went into winter-quarters at Morristown, New Jersey, under the immediate personal command of Washington, and strong detachments were stationed at West Point and other posts on the Hudson, and the cavalry were cantoned in Connecticut. The manifest designs of Clinton against the south, and the defeat of the Americans at Savannah, induced the Commander-in-chief to send a reinforcement to General Lincoln's army; and before the middle of December two of the North Carolina regiments and the whole of the Virginia line marched to the south, leaving the main army in quite a weak condition. The scarcity of provisions, and the depreciated value of the continental money, soon threatened a total dissolution of the army. The soldiers were put upon allowance before the close of January, and finally, to prevent the catastrophe of a general rebellion, incited by starvation,

Capture of the Serapis. P. 296.

Washington was obliged to resort to measures similar to those adopted during the winter of 1778, at Valley Forge,* and thus he managed to keep his little army together.

On the twenty-seventh of September, Congress proceeded to elect a minister to negotiate a treaty of peace and also of commerce, with Great Britain, hoping by that means to conclude the war and establish the independence of the States through the instrumentality of diplomacy, rather than shed more blood. John Adams was elected to this important office, and immediately proceeded to enter upon its duties.† John Jay was elected the same day minister to Spain, for general negotiations and for the special purpose of concluding some definite adjustment of boundaries between the Spanish possessions and the States of the confederacy. Mr. Jay did not reach Spain until March, 1780. In November, M. Gerard, the French Minister to the United States, was succeeded by the Chevalier Luzerne, a man of great influence, and highly esteemed by both governments.

The prospects of the American cause at the close of this year were as gloomy as at any previous period of the war. The alliance with France, upon which so much hope had rested, proved exceedingly inefficient, and it is quite doubtful whether, up to the time in question, that alliance was not detrimental rather than useful. It is true, the diversion of the English navy from our coast by the fleet of D'Estaing, and the necessity experienced by the British government to keep a respectable land force in the West Indies, and also a force sufficient at home to repel a threatened invasion of the combined armies of France and Spain, greatly crippled her power, and prevented that vigorous prosecution of the war here which greater numbers would have effected. But this negative aid was doubtless balanced by the apathy of the Americans, an apathy arising from a too great reliance upon French fleets and armies, and a belief that the belligerent position of Spain and Holland towards England, would coerce the latter into negotiations for peace. In addition to these causes for apprehending the loss to the Americans of that independence they had so boldly asserted, was the more formidable one of internal dissension and want of harmony in the councils of our infant nation, having their origin in the hydra

* He demanded from each county in New Jersey, a certain quantity of meat and flour to be brought into camp within six days. Unlike the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, the people of New Jersey very cheerfully complied with the demand, notwithstanding they had been heavily taxed on former occasions.

† Owing to local feelings, there were several ballotings for this office on the twenty-sixth, the members being equally divided in their choice between Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay.

of party spirit, whose pestiferous breath has ever been, and ever will be, a mephitic influence, paralysing, if not utterly destroying, the energies of every enterprise over which it is diffused. And worse than all, so far as the good opinion and the hoped-for aid of Europe was concerned, our diplomatic agents abroad had been engaged in personal disputes, which finally created parties at home and led to measures that alarmed every true friend of the cause.

Some of these foreign agents were recalled, among whom was the ardent but injudicious Silas Deane, who was charged with having exceeded his powers in engaging French officers to go to the United States, with promises of rank and pay, which could not be redeemed; and in other respects his conduct was censured. Deane, as soon as he arrived, requested Congress to appoint a commissioner to inquire into his conduct, but thinking there was unnecessary delay in complying with his request, he published an inflammatory address to the people of the United States, in which he poured out the vials of his wrath upon the heads of all his opponents, some of whom were among the most distinguished men in the country, charging them with selfishness, chicanery, and personal ambition. Thomas Paine, who was then the Secretary of Congress for Foreign Affairs, and one of the most ardent defenders of American freedom, wrote a caustic reply to Deane in one of his papers signed "Common Sense," in which he unhesitatingly accused him of fraudulent attempts, while in Europe, to enrich himself by means of his agency; and pointed to the fact that a sum of money sent to America from Louis XVI. before the consummation of the Treaty of Alliance, appeared in Deane's account as a loan, when, as Paine asserted, it was a free gift from that monarch. The papers in Paine's possession, as Foreign Secretary, gave him every facility for information, and this facility he indiscreetly used by copying from diplomatic documents in his office. The French Minister to Congress, Gerard, knowing these charges to come from the pen of Paine, memorialized that body upon the subject, and defended his sovereign against the serious charge of having given aid to the revolted Colonies of a power with which he was then in alliance. Through the influence of Gerard and the political enemies of Paine, the Secretary was cited to appear as a delinquent at the bar of Congress, where he at once acknowledged the authorship of the article. As soon as he withdrew, resolutions for his dismissal from office, on the ground of an abuse of trust and confidence, in publishing extracts from secret correspondence in his possession, were offered, but before any were adopted, Paine sent in his resignation, disgusted at the temporizing and factious spirit which he saw daily increasing around him.

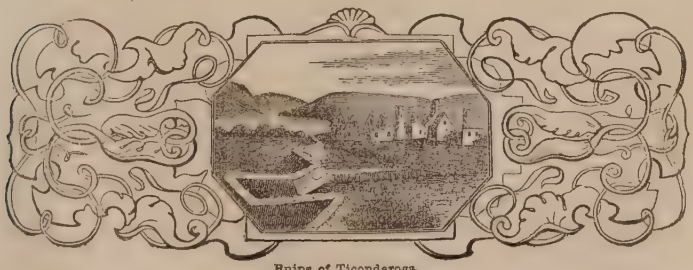
President Laurens's Letter. Its effect upon the people.

The ferment of the public mind was greatly augmented at this time by the publication, in a New York newspaper,* of an extract from a letter alleged to have been written by Mr. Laurens, the President of Congress, to Governor Huiston, of Georgia, which letter had been seized among other papers of the Governor by the enemy during their invasion of that State. This letter accused a large portion of the delegates in Congress of being devoid of integrity and patriotism, and spoke of the times as remarkable for corruption. Notwithstanding there was some truth in these allegations, in particular instances, yet, as a body, the American Congress still maintained its high character for integrity and patriotism, obscured, it must be confessed, by rancorous party spirit. The letter ascribed to Laurens was considered a forgery, and yet it had a powerful effect upon the people, and, combined with other causes alluded to, made every true patriot tremble for his country's independence.

These things caused Washington a great deal of anxiety, and his hopeful spirit at times almost gave way to despondency. He saw a powerful enemy putting forth new energies; an ally comparatively inefficient; the public treasury empty; the circulating medium of his country almost worthless; his army discontented with low fare and slow pay, and on the verge of mutiny; and Congress, the strong right arm of power on which rested the dearest interests of the country, convulsed and paralysed by dissensions within. In view of these dark shadows upon the landscape, where long ere this he had hoped to see nothing but sunny smiles, he was forced to declare that "friends and foes were combining to pull down the fabric they had been raising at the expense of so much time, blood, and treasure."†

* "Rivington's Royal Gazette," the printing establishment of which was destroyed in 1775, by a party of Connecticut militia under Captain Isaac Sears, called "King Sears." It was re-established in 1776, when the British took possession of the city.

† Washington's Letters.



Ruins of Ticonderoga.

EVENTS OF 1780.

Nathaniel Greene—Benedict Arnold—John André

CHAPTER X.

SIR HENRY CLINTON, as we have before observed, departed from New York at the close of December, under convoy of several ships of the line, commanded by Admiral Arbuthnot, and proceeded with between seven and eight thousand troops, to make an attack upon the more defenceless States of the south. He also took with him an immense amount of military stores and provisions, determined to prosecute the war with so much vigor as to bring it to a close during the projected campaign. He was pretty

well informed of the financial embarrassments of the Americans; of the party dissensions in Congress, and the greatly impoverished state of the country; and he relied almost as much upon the silent destructiveness of these causes to insure his success, as upon his arms.

The fleet with Clinton's army had not proceeded far from Sandy Hook, when it was overtaken by a terrible storm and driven far from its course. Some of the transports were captured by American privateers, others were lost, and all were damaged to some extent. A vessel containing all the heavy ordnance for the siege of Charleston, was lost, and nearly all of the horses belonging to the artillery and cavalry perished. It was the last of January before Clinton reached Savannah, when he immediately began to repair his losses, and to endeavor, if possible, to obtain recruits and horses for his cavalry, from among the tory population.* On the tenth of February, he departed from Savannah for the siege of Charleston. General Lincoln, who was at Charleston, anticipating this expedition from the north, had employed the time in making preparations for a vigorous defence. He had with him about two thousand regulars, one thousand militia, and a large body of armed citizens. With this force within the city, and the sure expectation of preventing the British from passing the bar at the entrance between Sullivan's and Long Island, Lincoln prepared for a successful defence.

On the eleventh of February, Sir Henry Clinton took possession of some of the islands south of the city, where he remained more than a month, when he crossed the Ashley River with the advance of his army, and, on the first of April, commenced the erection of batteries within eight hundred yards of the American works. They consisted of a chain of redoubts, lines, and batteries, across the peninsula from the Ashley to the Cooper Rivers, upon which were mounted eighty cannons and mortars. In front of this was a canal filled with water, and before the canal were two rows of abattis and a picketed ditch.† In addition to these defences, the Americans had a flotilla within the harbor, consisting of nine frigates (one a French vessel) and several galleys.

* Disaffection to the American cause, and an adhesion to the Crown, were daily increasing at the south. The protraction of the war and consequent misery, and the succession of defeats experienced by the Americans, made the people sigh for peace. Governor Rutledge had been invested with dictatorial powers, and when Clinton approached he called out the militia, but the response was feeble. He then commanded all having property in the city, who were on the muster-roll, to join the garrison immediately, or suffer the penalty of confiscation. But even this rigorous measure did not have the desired effect, and the garrison, when attacked, did not number five thousand men, including regulars, militia, and seamen.

† These defences were constructed under the superintendence of a French engineer named Laumay.

On the ninth of April, Admiral Arbuthnot, favored by a strong southerly wind and a high tide, passed Fort Moultrie with little opposition, and anchored his fleet in the harbor within cannon-shot of the town. On his approach the American flotilla abandoned its station and proceeded to the city. The British batteries being at the same time prepared to open a fire upon the town, General Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot then jointly sent a summons to General Lincoln to surrender.[a] The latter promptly refused, when a destructive fire from the ships and batteries was opened upon the town.

[a] April 9.

In the meanwhile, the Americans had assembled a corps at Monk's Corner, on the upper part of Cooper River, and about thirty miles from Charleston, where they received recruits and also provisions for the city. From this point they determined, when a sufficient force should be collected, to invest the besiegers in the rear, and thus bring them within the range of two fires. This corps was under the command of General Huger, and Clinton observed his movements with some alarm. He at once ceased his attack upon the city and despatched a detachment of fourteen hundred men, commanded by Colonel Webster, accompanied by Colonels Tarleton and Ferguson, all men distinguished for valor, to attack the Republicans at Monk's Corner. They arrived about three o'clock in the morning, and took the Americans completely by surprise. They were instantly routed, and all were slain who did not seek safety in flight. General Huger, and Colonels Washington and Jamieson,* were among those who escaped by throwing themselves into a morass. The British captured four hundred horses and a large quantity of provisions and other military stores. Cornwallis having taken the command on the left bank of the river, the enemy swept the whole country along that side, to Charleston, and thus the city became completely invested, and supplies of men and provisions were effectually cut off.

[b] April 14.

Soon after the surprise of the garrison at Monk's Corner, Tarleton, by a circuitous route, came stealthily upon an American corps upon the Santee River, and so sudden was his movement, that the Americans, who had their horses all saddled, had not time to mount, and were completely dispersed.[c]

[c] May 6.

About this time, Sir Henry Clinton received a reinforcement of three thousand men; and seeing resistance comparatively useless, Lincoln proposed measures to secure his little army from destruc-

* The commanding officers into whose hands André was subsequently delivered after his arrest.

tion; but the principal inhabitants, remembering the brutality of the British on like occasions elsewhere, prevailed upon him to only offer terms of capitulation favorable to the people, and on condition that the garrison should be allowed to serve again in the American army. This proposition Clinton rejected, and the siege steadily progressed. On the sixth of May Fort Moultrie surrendered, and all the outposts successively fell. The broken remnant of the American cavalry, which had been collected by Colonel White, were again dispersed by Tarleton, and the besieged saw nothing but destruction before them. The enemy had been advancing for two days, and the third parallel which Clinton had formed, being completed, preparations were made for a general assault. To spare the people of the town all the horrors of an assault and storm, General Lincoln concluded to surrender[a] upon the conditions offered by Clinton at first.* Pursuant to these terms, the garrison piled their arms, and a division of the British army under General Leslie, took possession of Charleston. The loss of the British in killed and wounded, was two hundred and sixty-eight, and of the Americans two hundred and fifty-four. The number of American prisoners was about six thousand, including about one thousand American and French seamen. There were a great number of officers, and this made an imposing appearance in the report of the British commander. The Deputy Governor and half of the Members of the Council of the province, seven generals, a commodore, nine colonels, fourteen lieutenant-colonels, fifteen majors, eighty-four captains, eighty-four lieutenants, and thirty-two second lieutenants and ensigns, were among the prisoners taken. Nearly four hundred pieces of ordnance were captured, and all the naval force in the vicinity was either seized or destroyed.

[a] May 12.

Never was there a triumph and defeat more complete, or which seemed more to assure the reunion to Britain of at least a large portion of her revolted Colonies. With very small exceptions, the whole military force of the Americans stationed in the southern States, including all its means and implements of war, was at once captured. A great proportion of the inhabitants, partly through fear, and partly from honest sentiment, testified their satisfaction, while

* The garrison were allowed some of the honors of war. They were to march out and deposit their arms between the canal and their lines; but the drums were not to play a British march, nor were the colors to be reversed; the regular troops and seamen keeping their baggage, were to remain prisoners of war; the militia were to return home as prisoners on parole: the citizens of all descriptions were also to be considered as prisoners on parole, but their property was to be respected; and the officers of the army and navy were to retain their servants, swords, pistols, and baggage.

the patriots and the lukewarm gave a silent acquiescence. There was scarcely a soldier in South Carolina or Georgia, who was not either a prisoner on parole, or in arms for the Crown.*

Clinton had been secretly assured that he would receive ample support from the tories as soon as he should reach the State, and confident that his victory would confirm the wavering and intimidate a multitude of the less valiant republicans, he at once set about establishing a royal government there again. He published a proclamation, promising to the people a renewal of all their former privileges, with the addition that they should not be taxed, unless by their own consent. He soon after issued another, absolving the militia from their paroles, and earnestly exhorting them to join with the other citizens in support of the British cause.

In the meanwhile, he determined to have entire possession of the State, and for this purpose, before the ardor of victory should cool, he sent out three detachments to take possession of important posts. One expedition seized the post of Ninety-Six; another scoured the country bordering on the Savannah River; a third, under Cornwallis, passed the Santee, and captured Georgetown, about six miles northeast from Charleston. A body of about four hundred patriots, under Colonel Buford, who were retreating towards North Carolina, were pursued and overtaken by Colonel Tarleton, who gave no quarter, and they were nearly all cut to pieces.†[a] These expeditions proving successful; the capital of the State in his possession; the people flocking to his standard from all quarters; and the whole State comparatively quiet, Clinton left Cornwallis in command of about four thousand troops, to maintain, and if possible, extend, his conquests, and on the fifth of June sailed for New York.

[a] May 29.

Sir Henry Clinton had no sooner departed, than bands with intrepid leaders, began to collect in various parts of the State, particularly on the frontiers, and by a sort of guerilla warfare, greatly annoyed the British troops. Colonel Sumter was the most distinguished of these partisan leaders, and gave the British a great deal of trouble. Although repulsed in an attack which he made upon them at Rocky Mount,[b] yet he was not disheartened, and soon after surprised and completely routed a large body of British regulars and tories at a place called Hanging Rock.[c] This event gave the republicans great joy, and restored their confidence, while the loyalists again began to tremble with fear.

[b] July 30.

[c] Aug. 6.

* Murray, vol. ii., p. 69.

† After that, when any furious engagement took place, of a brutal character, it was called Tarleton's quarters.

Early in the Spring, Washington had perceived the necessity of a much stronger force in the Carolinas, and he made arrangements for the march of troops from Maryland and Delaware, and called out the militia of Virginia and North Carolina. These forces were placed under the command of the Baron de Kalb, an eminent German officer; but General Gates was soon after placed by Congress in command of the whole southern army, and began his journey thitherward in March. His progress was a very tardy one, owing to a want of money and military stores and provisions, and it was the beginning of August before he reached Camden, about one hundred and ten miles north-west from Charleston. He had with him about four thousand men, chiefly militia, and encamped at Clermont, about thirteen miles from Camden. Lord Rawdon, who was in command of a division of the British army in that quarter, concentrated his forces at the former place. Gates determined to push offensive operations vigorously, hoping to cause Lord Rawdon to fall back upon Charleston, but that General, as soon as he received tidings of the approach of the Americans, gave notice to Cornwallis, who was at Charleston, and he immediately hastened[a] to join him.

[a] Aug. 14.

On the night of the fifteenth of August, both armies moved for an attack, each ignorant of the other's design. The two vanguards met near Sander's Creek, and commenced firing in the dark. But both presently halted, formed into line, ceased firing, and awaited daylight to commence again. At early dawn a general engagement commenced[b] between the two armies, and the first terrible onset of the enemy's regulars upon the raw militia, decided the fate of the battle. The British charged with fixed bayonets, and soon put the Virginia and Carolina militia to flight. The Maryland and Delaware regiments fought more bravely, and for a while seemed to give assurance of victory, compelling the enemy several times to retire. At length the whole force of the enemy was directed towards these two corps, and a tremendous shower of bullets was poured incessantly into their ranks. Cornwallis attacked them at the same time with fixed bayonets, which compelled them to give way, and as they broke, Colonel Tarleton's cavalry charged upon them and dispersed them with great slaughter. Baron de Kalb, while exerting himself with great bravery to prevent the loss of the battle, received eleven wounds, and soon after expired.* In this engagement about five hundred of the British were killed and wounded. It is impossible

[b] Aug. 16.

* On the fourteenth of October, Congress resolved to erect a monument to his memory in Annapolis.

to estimate the loss of the Americans in killed, wounded, and prisoners, as no returns of the militia were made after the action. British authors state the loss at about two thousand, while the Americans make it only one thousand. General Gates retreated to Charlotte and from thence to Hillsborough, with the remnant of his forces.

On the evening before the battle of Sander's Creek,[a] Colonel Sumter, who had been sent against a post of the enemy on the Wateree, made a successful attack, and captured about forty wagons and one hundred prisoners. While Sumter was on his way to join Gates, Colonel Tarleton with his cavalry rode into the camp and took him completely by surprise.[b] Sumter's troops were quite exhausted by labor and want of sleep, and made but a feeble resistance, many saving themselves by flight into the woods and swamps. Tarleton recaptured the English prisoners, and conveyed them in triumph back to the British camp.

[a] Aug. 15.

[b] Aug. 18.

Believing the State again completely subdued, Cornwallis adopted very rigorous measures to coerce the inhabitants into submission to royal authority.* Private rights were trampled under foot, and social organization was completely superseded by the iron rule of military despotism. But these violent measures, as usual, failed to effect their object, for, notwithstanding the spirit of the people was awed and greatly restrained, yet it was not broken or subdued.

Early in September, Cornwallis sent Colonel Ferguson, an active partisan, with about sixteen hundred loyalist militia, to sweep the country to the frontiers of Virginia, and encourage the tories to take up arms. The most abandoned and profligate joined his standard, and the excesses which they committed aroused the militia of the borders, and soon powerful bands were organized. The republicans rode on fleet horses, carrying only a rifle, a blanket, and knapsack, and making the earth their bed at night. They moved with a

* Cornwallis sent orders to his various commanders to hang *instanter* every militiaman who, having served in the British army, had joined the Americans. Fearing also the influence of many of the leading patriots in that quarter, he violated the faith of a conquering general, and broke the stipulations of their parole. By his order, the Lieutenant Governor (Gadsden), most of the civil and militia officers, and some other of the friends of the republicans, of character, were taken out of their beds and houses[a] by armed parties, and collected at the Exchange, from whence they were conveyed on board a guard-ship and transported to St Augustine, in Florida. Strong remonstrance against this perfidious act was made, but all in vain, and the British commander, unable to defend such conduct, endeavored to silence appeals by refusing to receive them. The people became greatly exasperated; many loyalists embraced the cause of the republicans, and a mingled cry of vengeance, and execration of the British standard, went forth from a thousand lips hitherto timorously silent, or defensive of the British Crown.

[a] Aug. 27.

rapidity to which ordinary troops were strangers, and even Tarleton was baffled in all his pursuits of them.

Ferguson having learned that about three thousand of these borderers had mustered in a phalanx to oppose him, began a rapid retreat towards the main army; but being informed that about sixteen hundred of them were in pursuit of him, he felt the hopelessness of escaping from their astonishing swiftness, and took post on King's Mountain, an eminence near the boundary line between North and South Carolina, where he awaited an attack. They ascended the mountain in three divisions,[a] the first of which was charged by Ferguson and his men with fixed bayonets, and driven back; but the Americans attacked them on every side from the coverts of trees, rocks, and ravines, and the British fell in great numbers. At length Colonel Ferguson was mortally wounded, and his whole force was immediately routed, with the loss of three hundred killed and wounded and eight hundred taken prisoners. Among the spoils, fifteen hundred stand of arms were captured. The loss of the Americans was only twenty.

[a] Oct. 7.

In the meantime, Cornwallis had pushed on to Salisbury, near Virginia, and, in expectation of his reaching that State, a reinforcement intended for him, under General Leslie, was ordered to enter the Chesapeake. But when Cornwallis heard of the defeat of Ferguson, he was much alarmed lest this victorious band should greatly increase and overrun South Carolina, where he fondly hoped all would be quiet for a while. He accordingly retraced his steps, and Leslie was instructed to proceed to Charleston.*

While these events were transpiring, General Sumter,† notwithstanding his defeat, had again collected a band of volunteers, and continued to harass the enemy greatly. General Marion,‡ an intrepid leader, with about two hundred daring men, also annoyed the British outposts continually, and so skilful were his manœuvres, that even Tarleton could not hunt him down. He was constantly cutting off straggling parties of the enemy, and kept the tories completely in check. He subsequently performed signal service to the American

* This retreat was a disastrous one, and exceedingly disheartening to the British troops. It rained nearly all the time, the mud in some places was knee-deep, and streams of every size had to be forded. Lord Cornwallis fell sick, and the management of the retreat was left to Lord Rawdon, the second in command. They reached Camden (from whence they started) on the twenty-ninth of October.

† Colonel Sumter was created Brigadier-General by Governor Rutledge soon after his first daring exploits on the borders of the Carolinas.

‡ Marion was at the siege of Charleston and held the rank of Colonel. He was wounded and disabled from commanding his regiment. He was soon after promoted to Brigadier by Governor Rutledge.

cause, and no name is more highly honored at the south than that of Francis Marion.

On the twelfth of November, Major Wemys made an attack upon Sumter at Broad River, but the British were defeated with the loss of their commander taken prisoner. On the twentieth of November, Sumter was attacked by Colonel Tarleton, at Blackstock, but, after a severe loss, the British were obliged to retreat and leave Sumter victorious upon the field. The latter immediately crossed the river, but so severe had been his loss during the engagement, that the courage of his men failed, and nearly his whole band became dispersed.

Gates used every exertion to collect and reorganize his defeated army, and reinforcements were forwarded to him. But his defeat, as is often the case, incurred reproaches, and Washington was called upon to institute an inquiry into his conduct, and to nominate another commander. He named the brave General Greene, one of the most talented officers in the Continental army; and Washington assured Congress that all Greene needed to insure victory was troops and supplies in reasonable quantity. When Greene arrived at the point of command,[a] the army numbered about two thousand men, nearly all of whom were regulars, and he immediately concerted some movements to support the cause in South Carolina, and endeavor to cut off Cornwallis from the upper country. Thus closed the military events of the year at the south. Let us now turn our attention northward.

[a] Dec. 22.

Immediately after Sir Henry Clinton left New York for the south,[b] the most intense cold weather prevailed, and the bay and harbor in the vicinity of that city were completely frozen over. Thus cut off from supplies of aid from the sea, the British troops in the city might have been easily captured with a small force, but so greatly reduced were Washington's troops in numbers, dispirited by privations, and in fact, influenced by a spirit of mutiny, that he was obliged to see the golden moment pass by while he was compelled to be comparatively inactive. An ineffectual attempt was indeed made against a post upon Staten Island by Lord Stirling, with a detachment under his command,[c] but the ice was so strong in the bay that the enemy received reinforcements from New York, who marched over upon this brittle bridge, and obliged Stirling to retreat, during the night, back to the American camp. This was the only expedition attempted by Washington during the winter, because of the extreme weakness of his little army—weak not only in numbers, but physically weak, from actual privations,* and weak in moral

[b] Dec. 26, 1779.

[c] Jan. 15.

* There were whole days on which Washington had neither biscuit nor bread to

strength from the crushing operations of foreshadowing despair. Murmurs, also, were daily increasing in frequency and intensity, and symptoms of a general mutiny soon after appeared.

But the drooping spirits of the Americans were greatly revived by the joyful news communicated to Congress and to the Commander-in-chief by La Fayette on his arrival from France.* [a] He announced the good tidings that France was about sending money for the treasury, and troops for the armies of America, and that the latter were already embarked when he left, and doubtless were on their way.† Washington received by the hands of La Fayette, a commission from Louis XVI. appointing him Lieutenant-General of the armies of France, and Vice-Admiral of its fleets. This was done to prevent any difficulties that might occur on the score of etiquette; and it was arranged that as the French were to be considered auxiliaries they were to cede the post of honor to the Americans; and Lieutenant-General Count de Rochambeau, the commander of the French expedition, was to place himself under the American Commander-in-chief. These arrangements were highly satisfactory, and during the stay of the French army in America the very best understanding prevailed among the respective officers.‡

[a] May 12.

Early in June,[b] General Knyphausen detached about five thousand men under the general command of Brigadier

[b] June 7.

give his famished men, and the forage having failed, a great proportion of his horses perished, or were rendered useless.

* The militia, greatly inspirited, flocked to the American standard; Congress exhibited new vigor; capitalists came forward with pecuniary aid, and the women of America, true to their character, were foremost in giving assistance. In Philadelphia they formed a society, placing Mrs. Washington at its head, and after subscribing, themselves, to the extent of their ability, they went from house to house soliciting aid and stimulating patriotic sentiment, and, by their exertions, large sums were placed in the military chest. Other cities followed their noble example, and large sums of money were thus collected and appropriated to the use of the republican army. It may not be inappropriate to notice here one of a hundred instances of the hearty co-operation in the cause, of the American women. In an old paper (Green's New London Gazette) dated Nov. 20, 1776, is the following announcement:—"On the eighteenth of September, several of the most respectable ladies in East Haddam, about thirty in number, met at J. Chapman's and husked, in four or five hours, about two hundred and forty bushels of corn. A noble example, so necessary in this bleeding country, while their fathers and brothers were fighting the battles of the nation."

† This expedition was, in a great measure, the result of the untiring personal exertions of La Fayette, and he did not quit his country until he saw the expedition ready to sail. Congress, appreciating his noble and timely service, complimented him by a vote of thanks; and his presence here gave great hopes to the Americans.

‡ As a compliment to the French, and as a token of friendship, the American officers wore cockades of black and white intermixed, the former being the color of the American cockade, the latter of the French.

Mathews, who passed over from Staten Island into New Jersey, landing at Elizabethtown Point. From that place they marched up the country towards Springfield, burning the village of Connecticut Farms (now Union) on their way. Sir Henry Clinton had just arrived from the south, and hoping to bring Washington into a general action, passed over with Knyphausen into New Jersey with some additional troops. Washington had sent a detachment from his camp at Morristown, and compelled the British to withdraw from Springfield, but, being deceived by some movements of Clinton, he left General Greene at the latter place, and marched towards the Hudson highlands. The British attacked and defeated Greene, took possession of and burned the town, and then returned to New York; for Clinton, being in hourly expectation of the arrival of the French expedition, was unwilling to have his force separated and weakened by these almost fruitless operations. The only inducement Knyphausen had to send out this expedition was the hope that the reported defection of the American troops might be increased, and a general revolt obtained.

Early in July,[a] intelligence was received that the French fleet* had been seen off the Capes of Virginia, and on the twelfth it entered the harbor of Newport, in Rhode Island. The fleet was commanded by Chevalier Ternay,† and had on board six thousand troops under the command of Count de Rochambeau, an experienced officer, who had served with much distinction in the "Seven Years' War." A second division of the French army destined for America, was left at Brest waiting for transports. It was subsequently blockaded by an English fleet, and never reached its destination. The forces of Rochambeau were not sufficient to meet the emergency, and the combined armies did not number as many as the single division of the enemy in New York.‡ Washington meditated a joint attack by sea and land upon New York, but, on the arrival of a naval reinforcement for the British, he abandoned it until Admiral de Guichen with his fleet should arrive from the West Indies, an event daily looked for. Clinton also meditated an attack upon the French fleet and troops at Newport, but his delay in equipping his vessels was so great that the place was made too strong for him, and he

[a] July 4.

* It consisted of seven ships of the line, some frigates, and a number of transports.

† Ternay died at Newport while in command of the squadron.

‡ The American army, in the plan of the campaign of 1780, was fixed at thirty-five thousand two hundred and eleven men, instead of which, the actual force in the field and under arms, at the end of June, amounted to only about five thousand five hundred men.

abandoned the enterprise. The arrival, soon after, of Admiral Rodney, made the British complete masters of the seas. As the season was advancing, and it was evident that little could be done during the remainder of the year, it was determined to remain in a defensive attitude, and prepare for the next campaign.* For this purpose, Washington and Rochambeau met in conference at Hartford,[a] and there completed their plans for the following year. [a] Sept. 21.

It was during this conference at Hartford, and the absence of Washington from his head-quarters, that an event occurred which, but for the overruling interposition of Providence, would have utterly destroyed the American cause and made the republicans bond-slaves again to the King and Parliament of Great Britain. This was the Treason of Arnold.

When, in the spring of 1778, the British evacuated Philadelphia, General Arnold was stationed there by Washington, with some troops of the Pennsylvania line, as military Governor. The state of his wounds was the reason why he was not engaged in more active service; but the Commander-in-chief, who detested his vices, appreciated his great bravery and military talents, and was unwilling to have them remain idle. Arnold took possession of the mansion formerly occupied by William Penn, and, furnishing it sumptuously, lived there in the most extravagant style.† His private fortune was by no means adequate to the support of such style, and embarrassment very soon followed. Rather than retrench his expenses and live within his means, he chose to procure money by a system of fraud and injustice,‡ which soon produced discontents, and he was

* In November, the French troops went into winter-quarters at Newport, and the cavalry, detached from the legion of the Duc de Lauzun, were sent to the barracks constructed at Lebanon, in Connecticut.—*See Count de Rochambeau's Narrative of the Campaigns of the French army in the United States.*

† Arnold had recently married. It was from one of the disaffected or tory families that he selected his wife. He loved her with passionate fondness, and she deserved his attachment, by her virtues and solidity of understanding. In addition to these advantages, she possessed an extraordinary share of beauty, distinguishable even in a country where nature has been prodigal of her favors to the sex. A considerable time before this marriage, when Philadelphia was still in the hands of the enemy, the relatives of the lady had given an eager welcome to the British commanders. His marriage therefore caused some surprise, but he was pledged to the republic by so many services rendered and benefits received, that the alliance gave umbrage to no one.—*American Register*, vol. ii., p. 31, 1817.

It is generally believed that Arnold's wife was instrumental in weakening his attachment to the American cause.

‡ Under pretence of the wants of the army, he forbade the shop-keepers to sell or buy; he then put their goods at the disposal of his agents, and caused them afterwards to be resold with a profit. At one moment he prostituted his authority to enrich his accomplices; at the next, squabbled with them about the division of the prey.—*Ibid.*, p. 23.

arraigned before the tribunals of the law. But under the broad ægis of military power, he set both law and justice at defiance.

His conduct became too flagitious to be borne, and the President of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania preferred charges against him and laid them before Congress. A joint committee of that body and of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, was appointed to inquire into the matter, the result of which was, the charges seemed to be sustained, and the complaints were transmitted to Washington, in order for trial. Arnold had previously presented to Congress large claims against the government on account of money which he alleged he had expended for the public service in Canada. A part of his claim was disallowed, and it was generally believed that he attempted to cheat the government by false financial statements.

Arnold at once resigned the command which he held in Philadelphia, and repaired to the camp at Morristown, where the court-martial to try him was convened. He used every art to win its members to his interests, but in vain. On the twentieth of January,[a] the court pronounced its decision of guilty, and condemned him to be reprimanded by the Commander-in-chief. Washington performed this painful duty with all possible delicacy,* yet Arnold's pride was too deeply wounded to allow him to appreciate the tenderness of his General, or to form good resolutions for future usefulness to his country. He left the army, and that devotion to the American cause which he had always exhibited, was changed to intense hatred; and, after revolving various schemes in his mind,† he formed the secret resolution to retrieve his fortune and gratify his revenge, by bartering away the liberties for which his countrymen were contending. His first step was to make the British commander aware of his discontent. This was a delicate

[a] 1779.

* When Arnold was brought before him, he kindly addressed him, saying, "Our profession is the chastest of all. Even the shadow of a fault tarnishes the lustre of our finest achievements. The least inadvertence may rob us of the public favor, so hard to be acquired. I reprimand you for having forgotten, that, in proportion as you had rendered yourself formidable to our enemies, you should have been guarded and temperate in your deportment towards your fellow citizens: exhibit anew those noble qualities which have placed you on the list of our most valued commanders. I will, myself, furnish you, as far as it may be in my power, with opportunities of regaining the esteem of your country."

† He conceived the idea of joining some of the Indian tribes, and, uniting many of them in one, become a great and powerful chief. This scheme he soon abandoned, and then he applied to the French Minister (Luzerne, who succeeded Gerard), a man of great honor and just sentiments, for a loan, promising faithful adherence to the King and country of the Minister. Luzerne, although a great admirer of Arnold's talents, could not look upon this attempt to get money with complacency, and he rebuked him, kindly but severely. As a last resort, Arnold determined to betray his country.

matter, for he knew not whom to trust with his secret. He revealed it to his wife, and it had her approval. English emissaries visited his house, but he was too wary to trust their discretion. At length he communicated his designs to Charles Beverly Robinson, an American by birth, but holding the post of Colonel in the British army in New York, and expressed to him a wish to open a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton.

Through the sound judgment and forethought of Washington, and the skill of French engineers, West Point was very strongly fortified, and presented a most formidable barrier to British incursions northward from New York. Immense stores and munitions of war were collected there,* and a strong garrison was placed in each of the forts, under the command of General Robert Howe.

Arnold's pride would not allow him to enter the British army as a deserter, and he therefore resolved to rejoin the American army; pretend a forgetfulness of what he deemed the injustice of Congress; obtain the command, if possible, of the important post of West Point, and then betray it, with its arms, and garrisons, and stores, into the hands of the enemy. He had so skilfully dissimulated, and artfully concealed his burning thirst for revenge, that when he expressed a desire to re-enter the army, and asked for the command of West Point, it was given him, although not without many misgivings on the part of Washington.†

Arnold at once proceeded to the execution of his plans, but, fearing those to whom he had sold himself might also prove treacherous, he asked for the immediate payment of the price of his infamy. He, however, could only get a promise of thirty thousand pounds sterling, and a commission of Brigadier-General in the British army. Clinton, on the other hand, urged Arnold to surrender the forts at once, but the presence of Washington was an insuperable hindrance, for Arnold well knew the vigilance of the Commander-in-chief. He therefore recommended deliberation, and expressed his wish that Major John André,‡ the Adjutant-General of the British army, should be fully apprised of the scheme, and appointed to confer with

* In the vaults of one of the forts, besides the ammunition for its own defence, the stock of powder for the whole army was lodged.

† The news of this unexpected success reached Mrs. Arnold in the midst of a large assembly at an evening party in Philadelphia, and so affected her that she partly swooned, yet no one suspected the real cause of her emotion, and when she recovered, they all congratulated her upon the resolution and good success of her husband!

‡ André when in Philadelphia had contracted a warm friendship with the family of Arnold's wife, and he was favorably known to the General for his bravery and accomplishments

"Beverley Robinson House" P 316.

him upon the time, and the best mode of executing it. This request was granted, and a correspondence, concealed under a commercial character, was opened between them, under the assumed names of *Gustavus* and *Anderson*. An American, whose house stood upon neutral ground between the lines, acted as their messenger.

Arnold occupied the mansion of Colonel Beverly Robinson,* and made his head-quarters there, and as soon as he thought Washington had departed† from West Point for the conference with the French commander at Hartford, he exacted an immediate personal interview with André as indispensable for the success of the enterprise. André and Robinson were the only persons with whom he had corresponded on the subject, and the traitor was unwilling to confide to other hands than the former, the maps and other written information which Clinton desired. The British commander at first demurred, but André, anxious to distinguish himself and to execute what he sincerely believed it would be, the blow that should finish the war, was, upon his own urgent solicitation, allowed to go. Accompanied by Robinson, he embarked at night[a] on board the British sloop-of-war Vulture, and the next morning arrived opposite Fort Clinton,[b] about six miles below West Point.

[a] Sept. 19.

[b] Sept. 20.

After some delay, Arnold communicated with André and Robinson by means of an American tory named Joshua Smith. They landed at night and met Arnold at the water's edge. André covered his uniform with a surtout, but Arnold, fearing a discovery, took him to the house of Robinson, within the American lines, much against the feelings and wishes of the young officer, who, though zealous in the enterprise, was too honorable to become a spy. All the plans were laid before André, and it was agreed to surrender the forts on the twenty-fifth.‡ By a given signal, the British transports

* This mansion is still standing. It is situated a short distance below West Point, on the east side of the Hudson, upon a fertile strip of table-land lying between the river and a part of the lofty range of the eastern highlands. To the patriotism and good taste of the proprietor we are indebted for its excellent preservation in the style of its original construction, the wasting effects of time having rendered external repairs necessary. The interior presents its original appearance, and upon the wainscot over the mantel in a bed-room, may still be seen the knife-carvings of the names of Revolutionary officers who were quartered there. Lieutenant Thomas Arden, a graduate of West Point, is the present proprietor of the mansion, and to his excellent lady the writer is indebted for many polite attentions while on a brief visit there for the purpose of making the sketch of the building delineated opposite page 316.

† Washington intended to leave on the seventeenth, but was detained, and did not depart until the twentieth.

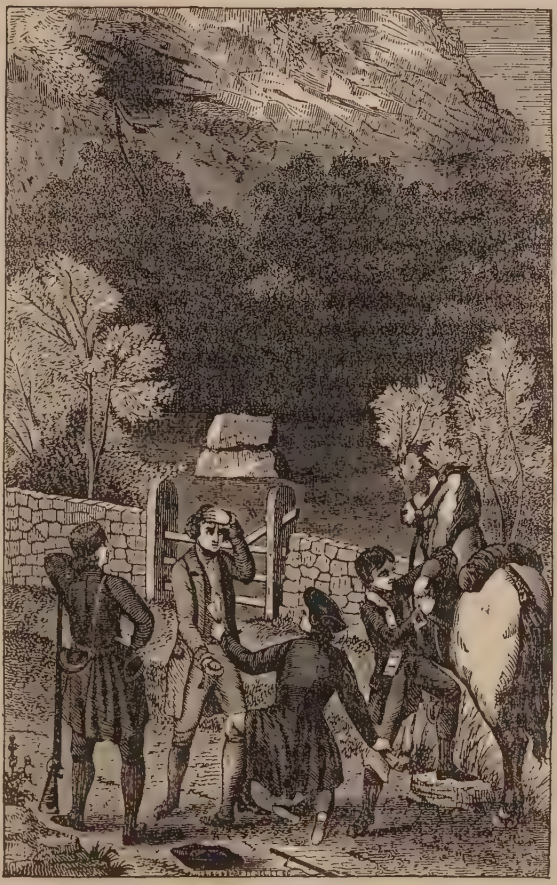
‡ André had also conceived the bold design of capturing Washington and his staff, who would be at Arnold's head-quarters on the same day, on their return from Hartford.

were to sail up the Hudson with a large number of men; and at the same time Arnold, under various pretences, was to withdraw most of the troops from the forts, and so distribute them in the ravines in the vicinity, as to render them quite weak in case of attack, and make the surrender, or the apparent necessity for it, much speedier.

André started immediately to return to New York to give the signal to Clinton, but on attempting to go on board the Vulture, he found that she had removed some miles below, to get out of reach of an American cannon that had commenced firing upon her from the shore. The men in the boat refused to go down to the Vulture, and André returned to Arnold. He exchanged his military suit for citizen's dress, provided by Smith, and, accompanied by him, set out upon the perilous journey by land to New York, each being furnished with a passport to "go to the lines at White Plains, or lower, if the bearer thought proper; he being on public business." They traversed the American posts unmolested, crossed the Hudson twice, and upon the border of the neutral ground, Smith bade André adieu. The latter, believing all danger past, spurred on towards New York with great speed. When near Tarrytown a man armed with a musket suddenly leaped from a clump of bushes by the road side, and seizing the reins of his bridle, exclaimed, "Where are you bound?" At the same time, two other militia-men, forming part of a volunteer patrol, came up. André, mistaking them for British soldiers, did not show them his passport, but inquired of them where they belonged. They deceived him by the reply "to below" (meaning New York); and he remarked, "And so do I; I am an English officer," he continued, "on urgent business, and I do not wish to be longer detained." "You belong to our enemies," they exclaimed, "and we arrest you!" They immediately searched him, and found in his boots, where they had been placed for safety, Arnold's despatches, plans, &c., which were evidences that their prisoner was a *spy*.

André was paralysed for a moment with astonishment, and offered them his horse, his purse, his watch, and large rewards from the British government, if they would let him go. But their stern patriotism was inflexible, and he was carried before Colonel Jamieson, who was in command of the outposts.* The confidence of that

* The captors of André were named John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart. Congress, on hearing of the event, immediately passed a resolution commendatory of their patriotic conduct; and in testimony whereof, they ordered that each should be paid two hundred dollars annually; that a silver medal should be presented to each, having on one side a shield with "Fidelity" inscribed upon it, and on the other side the motto, "*Vincit amor patriæ*," and that the Commander-in-chief should present them with the thanks of Congress.



Capture of Andre. P. 320.

officer in the patriotism of Arnold, made him so unsuspecting, that he wrote to the traitor apprising him that Anderson, the bearer of his passport, had been arrested.[a] While at breakfast,[b] Arnold received the startling intelligence. He concealed his emotion, and retired to reflect on what course to adopt. He hoped still to effect his purpose before Washington's return, but while thus musing, two American officers arrived, announcing that the Commander-in-chief was near, and would soon be with him. Suppressing his feelings, he told the two officers he wished to go and meet the General alone; and hastening to the apartment of his wife, he exclaimed, "All is discovered; André is a prisoner; the Commander-in-chief will soon know everything; burn all my papers; I fly to New York!" He embraced her and their infant, rushed from the apartment, mounted the horse of one of the officers, and fled towards the Hudson, where he had a barge ready manned. He threw himself into it, and in a short time was alongside the Vulture.*

[a] Sept. 23.
[b] Sept. 25.

Washington was utterly confounded when he learned what had transpired, and repairing immediately to West Point, instituted diligent inquiries concerning the extent of the treason. The result was a conviction that Arnold had no accomplices among the Americans. After privately consulting Congress, Washington instituted a court-martial at Tappan to try André, and appointed General Greene President; the result of which was a report to the Commander-in-chief that "Major André ought to be considered as a *spy* from the enemy, and that, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, he ought to suffer death." Washington and his officers would gladly have saved the life of that excellent and accomplished young man, but necessity required a rigorous enforcement of penalties. Sir Henry Clinton did all in his power to save him. Arnold wrote a letter, threatening terrible retribution if André's life should be taken, and a plan was concerted by the American officers† to seize Arnold, the real culprit, and then pardon André. But these efforts failed, and on the second of October he was hanged at Tappan. He earnestly requested that he might be shot, and thus meet the more honorable death of a soldier, and Washington was willing to comply with his desire. But he was overruled by his officers, and the unfortunate

* From the Vulture, Arnold wrote to Washington, justifying his conduct, and imploring his protection for his wife and child. This protection was tenderly extended, and she was safely conducted to New York.

† Champe, an American Serjeant-Major of intrepid character, was intrusted with the conduct of the enterprise. He left the American camp and appeared in New York as a deserter. He there found accomplices, and soon they laid plans for abducting the traitor. But unforeseen circumstances thwarted their designs, and Champe returned safely to the American lines.

young soldier* suffered the ignominious death of a *spy*. He was universally lamented, both by the English and the Americans, and mingled expressions of tender regard for the victim, and execrations against the traitor, were heard on every side.†

Arnold, indeed, escaped detection and death, but his fate was far worse than that of André. Doomed to perpetual banishment from his native country; stung with remorse; loaded with execrations, even from the lips of those unto whom he had bartered his fame for gold, he led a miserable existence, to the torments of which death was truly a blessing to be coveted. He obtained only a portion of his stipulated reward; was taunted with being the author of an abortive treason, in the conception and partial execution of which he stood alone,‡ and transmitted to his children an "abject name of hateful celebrity." The British army detested him, and manifested much repugnance to serve with him, and the common soldiers on guard, who were bound to respect his rank,§ and salute him, generally whispered as he passed, "There goes the traitor Arnold!"

Very little of importance was done by either army during the remainder of the year. General Leslie, with about three thousand British troops, ravaged the coast of the Chesapeake during the month of October, and captured several vessels and a considerable quantity of tobacco; and on the part of the Americans, a small expedition was undertaken in November, by Major Tallmadge, who crossed the Sound to Long Island with eighty men, and leaving twenty to guard the boats, made a circuitous march to Fort George and captured it. He had but one man wounded. He took two officers and fifty-five privates prisoners. The two armies went into winter-quarters in nearly the same position in which they did the year before.

* He was not quite thirty years of age.

† André was not only a brave soldier, but an accomplished scholar. He began life in the peaceful calling of a merchant, but an unfortunate attachment induced him to quit his profession and his country. He obtained a commission in a regiment destined for America, where his bravery, abilities, and accomplishments, soon raised him to distinction. The lady of his love, the beautiful and accomplished Honora Sneyd, the bosom friend of Anne Seward, became the second wife of that man of many wives, R. L. Edgeworth, Esq., the father (by his first wife) of Miss Edgeworth, the admirable novelist; but she died of consumption on the thirtieth of April, 1780, five months and two days before the execution of André, who appears to have been ignorant of the sad event. André excelled in music and painting. As a poet, he was above the mediocrity of his day.—*Pic. His. of the Reign of George III.*, vol. i., p. 436.

‡ Arnold was the only American officer who forsook the cause of Independence and turned his sword against his country.

§ He held a commission as Brigadier in the British army.

Exchange of prisoners. Washington's earnest appeal. Minister to Holland.

Towards the close of the year an agreement was finally settled for a general exchange of prisoners. General Phillips of the British army, who had been a prisoner ever since the surrender of Burgoyne, and General Lincoln, of the American army, who surrendered at Charleston, were exchanged · but, owing to some disagreement in terms, the privates of Burgoyne's army were kept prisoners until the close of the war.

Washington earnestly pressed Congress for more troops and for enlistments during the war. In fact, knowing how slow was the increment of his force by voluntary enlistments, he suggested conscriptions, or something similar. He truly represented that unless something of the kind was done, they would soon behold the mortifying spectacle of the American cause wholly upheld by foreign troops. He referred to the recuperative energies of Great Britain, represented the termination of the war as still distant, and expressed his belief that nothing but the apparent infatuation of the British commander at various times had saved the cause of Independence from utter ruin. His appeal had some effect upon Congress, and they issued orders for enlistments during the war, and voted that all officers should have half-pay for life.

During the autumn, Holland, which had long been favorable to the Americans, cast off its disguise, and came out boldly an open enemy to Great Britain. This event, and the formation of the Armed Neutrality,* gave the Americans great hopes, amid all their distresses and reverses, and they looked with confidence for a termination of the war early in the ensuing year, when the French troops already here, and others that were expected, should be put in operation.

Henry Laurens, the late President of Congress, was appointed Minister to Holland, for the purpose of effecting commercial treaties, making a loan, and negotiating for an acknowledgment on the part of the States-General of the Independence of the United States. The Minister embarked at Philadelphia, carrying with him papers conferring extraordinary discretionary powers upon him, but the vessel in which he sailed was captured by two British frigates. Laurens

* The confederacy, so called, of the northern European powers against England, was commenced by the Empress Catharine, of Russia, in 1780. This continued until near the close of 1781. Again in the year 1800, the confederacy was renewed, and treaties entered into to cause their flags to be respected by the belligerent powers. But the doctrine that neutral flags protect neutral bottoms was not regarded as orthodox by England, and Nelson and Parker destroyed the fleet of Denmark before Copenhagen, on the 2d of April, 1801. In consequence, that power was obliged to secede from the alliance, and soon after, the Armed Neutrality was dissolved.

cast the box containing his papers into the sea, but it was recovered, and instantly forwarded to the British government, together with Mr. Laurens, who, after an examination, was committed to the tower on a charge of high treason. As soon as the British government discovered that Holland was encouraging American privateers, and had actually commenced the negotiation of a treaty with Congress, they declared war against that power, and thus, at the close of 1780, England was involved in hostilities with the three most powerful nations of Europe. In proportion as necessity for strength increased, England seemed to put forth new and vigorous exertions. Parliament voted large supplies of money and men for the United Service,* and extensive preparations were made for the ensuing campaign in America.

* Ninety-one thousand men was named as the naval force for the year 1781.

Washington's Head-quarters at Tappan.

EVENTS OF 1781.

John Jay—General Thomas Sumter—General Daniel Morgan.

CHAPTER XI.

THE balance of Destiny seemed to be equipoised at the beginning of 1781, and to human judgment success appeared as likely to crown the efforts of the oppressor as those of the oppressed. The independence of the States seemed as remote as ever, and the prospect of ultimate triumph was gloomy indeed. The condition of the army was deplorable, and the heroism of suffering was manifest in all its intensity upon every side. The contrast, too, which the enemy presented, brought out the poverty and the patriotism of the Republican army in bolder relief. While the former

possessed every comfort in abundance, being fed and clothed by a wealthy and powerful mother, the latter were enduring intense suffering from want of clothing, and provisions, and pay for their services. So pressing became these wants at last, that active mutiny pervaded the American army, and an event transpired which filled the country with alarm.

On the first of January the whole Pennsylvania line, stationed at Morristown, consisting of about thirteen hundred troops, paraded under arms, refused further obedience to orders, and declared their intention to march to Philadelphia and demand from Congress a redress of grievances.* They marched in a body towards Princeton with six field-pieces, but through the prudent management of General Wayne,† they were not only restrained from acts of violence on their march, but were brought to a parley and induced to listen to terms of compromise. Washington, on hearing of the revolt, recommended Wayne not to use force, for their number was too formidable and their complaints too just to risk the hazard of such a step. He advised Wayne to get from them a written statement of their grievances, and promised to present them candidly to Congress and the Assembly of Pennsylvania. This course had its intended effect, and a deputation from Congress met them at Princeton, and induced them to agree to a compromise, by which their immediate necessities were relieved, and provision made for their future pay. The revolters exhibited a spirit worthy of the soldiers of the War of Independence, for when their grievances were only in part redressed, they cheerfully returned to duty, and indignantly repulsed the imputation of a design to go over to the enemy.‡

* They complained, with truth, that their pay was in arrears; that they were obliged to receive it in depreciated currency, and that they were detained beyond their time of enlistment.

† In an attempt to compel them to desist, a captain was killed, and several others were wounded. General Wayne presented his pistols as if about to fire on them. With their bayonets at his breast they exclaimed: "We love and respect you; but if you fire you are a dead man. We are not going to the enemy; on the contrary, were they now to come out, you should see us fight under your orders with as much alacrity as ever; but we will no longer be amused; we are determined on obtaining what is our just due."

‡ On hearing of this mutiny, Sir Henry Clinton sent some emissaries from his camp at New York, with a proposition to their leaders to join him, and making promises of ample remuneration to all the mutineers in case they accepted the proposals. But the base proposition was indignantly spurned. One of the leaders addressed the soldiers and said, "See, comrades, he takes us to be traitors! Let us show him that America has no truer friends than we." They immediately seized the emissaries and delivered them up to Wayne, who caused them to be tried, and they were executed as spies. The mutineers being offered a reward for apprehending the spies, nobly refused it, saying that necessity had forced them to demand

A similar revolt was undertaken by the New Jersey troops a few days after, but through the vigilant preparations for such an event by Washington, it was speedily crushed. Two of the ringleaders were tried and executed, and by these summary proceedings the spirit of mutiny was subdued.

These events aroused the people and Congress to more vigorous action, and efforts hitherto unprecedented to raise money and supply the wants of the army were put forth. Taxes were imposed and cheerfully acquiesced in; a Commissioner was sent to Europe to negotiate loans of money and obtain military supplies;* and, during the year, the Bank of North America was established, under the supervision of Robert Morris, a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia, to whose superintendence Congress had recently intrusted the Treasury. There can be little doubt that it was principally owing to the financial operations of this distinguished patriot that the American army was not disbanded by its own act, and that Congress was enabled to commence offensive operations on the opening of the spring campaign for this year. He assumed the collection of taxes and the supply of the army with flour, and used his ample private fortune and his personal credit, without stint, to sustain the government.

Arnold began the work of his royal purchaser early in January of this year. He was despatched to Virginia with a corps of about sixteen hundred men, tories and English, and a number of armed vessels, for the purpose of desolating the country. He entered Hampton Roads on the first of January, and ascending the James River, reached Richmond on the fifth, where he destroyed all the public stores in the vicinity, and private property to a large amount. Jefferson, then Governor of the State, called upon the militia to defend Richmond, but they so tardily obeyed the summons, that he was obliged to leave the city to its fate.† It was about one half

justice from Congress, but they desired no reward for doing their duty to their bleeding country."

* Spain had loaned only fourteen thousand dollars, when nearly half a million was the amount asked, and France seemed to feel that she had done quite enough in sending her fleets and armies to America. Colonel John Laurens, son of the ex-President, was, in this extremity, sent on a special commission to France, and, contrary to usual etiquette, he presented his memorial in person to the King. He succeeded in obtaining a subsidy of six millions livres ($1,200,000), with a further sum by way of loan, and guarantee for a Dutch loan of five millions guilders ($2,000,000). This was intimated as being the very last pecuniary aid that could be granted.—*Sparks's Diplomatic Correspondence*, vol. iii., p. 190.

† Jefferson, after causing some of the public stores to be removed into the country, fled from the city at evening, with his Council and Secretaries.

destroyed by the traitor's torch. Arnold encamped at Portsmouth,[a] where he was joined by reinforcements that swelled his number to about two thousand.

[a] Jan. 20.

Washington now conceived the design of capturing Arnold with all his army, by investing them by sea and land. He desired Destouches, who succeeded Ternay in the command of the French fleet, to send an armament to the Chesapeake to co-operate with La Fayette, whom he intended to despatch with a competent force to maintain the investment by land. But the French Admiral sent[b] only a sixty-four gun-ship and two frigates, which being incompetent for the occasion, returned to Newport. After a personal conference between Washington and the French officers, it was agreed to send about eleven hundred of De Rochambeau's troops, under the command of the Baron de Viomenil, escorted by the whole of the French fleet. Destouches sailed on the eighth of March, and on the sixteenth he was met by Admiral Arbuthnot, who immediately attacked him. After a battle of more than an hour, the French fleet bore away and returned to Newport. Thus Arnold escaped from the danger of falling into the hands of his countrymen.*

[b] Feb. 9.

Clinton, still having in view a diversion in favor of the army of the south, sent thither General Phillips,† with about two thousand five hundred men, who joined Arnold at Portsmouth.[c] Phillips took the command, overran the whole country between the James and York rivers, seized the large town of Petersburgh,[d] also Chester Court-house, and other places, and destroyed a great quantity of shipping and stores. They then proceeded towards Richmond to complete its destruction, but on arriving at Manchester, on the opposite side of the James River, they found that La Fayette had entered Richmond the preceding evening, where his regular force was joined by about two thousand militia and some dragoons. Phillips and Arnold, after burning the stores and a great quantity of tobacco at Manchester, retired to Bermuda Hundred, and soon afterwards re-embarked their troops and proceeded down the river, when Cornwallis, who was at Wilmington, gave them notice that he was about marching into Virginia. They then returned to Petersburgh to await his arrival from the Carolinas. As this movement was subsequent to other important ones at the south, we will now turn our attention to operations in that quarter.

[c] March 26.

[d] April 1.

* It is related that a militia officer whom Arnold held as a prisoner at Portsmouth, was asked by the traitor what the Americans would do if they should catch him? He answered, "They would cut off your leg wounded while fighting for your country, and bury it with the honors of war, and then hang the rest of you!"

† Phillips was among the officers captured at Saratoga.

As already stated in the preceding chapter, General Gates was superseded by General Greene, after the disastrous conflict at Camden. Greene established his head-quarters at Charlotte, where he collected his whole force, amounting to only about two thousand men. Notwithstanding this extreme feebleness in numbers, he despatched General Morgan to the western frontier of South Carolina, where the British and tories were committing great devastations, to arrest their operations.

On the eleventh of January, General Leslie, with about fifteen hundred men, joined Cornwallis, and they prepared to march immediately into North Carolina, and press forward into Virginia. But Cornwallis was unwilling to allow Morgan to remain in his rear, and sent Tarleton to dislodge, and if possible, completely break up his forces—"to push him to the utmost." Colonel Washington, a nephew of the Commander-in-chief, was with Morgan, and they had a pretty large force of cavalry and riflemen, but the superior numbers of Tarleton obliged them at first to retreat. Tarleton hotly pursued them, and on reaching a place called the Cowpens, about three miles from the division line between North and South Carolina, Morgan wheeled and gave battle.[a] The first furious onset of the enemy caused the Americans to yield, and at the same time a party of the Republican regulars were dispersed and pursued by British cavalry under Ogilvie. Morgan rallied his men, and in one general charge upon the British lines they dispersed the enemy in every direction. Tarleton's squadron of cavalry had not yet encountered the Americans, and seeing the panic of the British militia and the impetuous advance of the former they fled with the greatest precipitation. Quarter being promised to the enemy, a large number surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Colonel Washington pursued Tarleton several miles and slightly wounded him, but, with the most of his cavalry, he reached the camp of Cornwallis in safety. In this battle, the South Carolina militia under Colonel Pickens showed great bravery, as well as a body of cavalry under Colonel Howard. They proved that Tarleton's legion was not invincible. The British had ten commissioned officers and one hundred and twenty-nine privates killed, and twenty-nine officers and two hundred privates wounded. The Americans lost twelve men killed and sixty wounded. The Republicans took five hundred prisoners and a large quantity of arms and ammunition.* This battle,

[a] Jan. 17.

* Eight hundred stand of arms, one hundred dragoon horses, thirty-five baggage-wagons, and two standards, fell into their hands. Two brass cannons which were taken from Burgoyne and captured by Cornwallis, at Camden, again became the

it has been justly remarked, proved, in the end, nearly as disastrous to Cornwallis as the battle of Bennington did to Burgoyne.

As soon as Cornwallis heard of the defeat of Tarleton, and the attendant disasters at the Cowpens, he determined to take the field in person, and having been reinforced by Leslie, he felt confident that he could soon subdue the whole country south of Virginia. His first effort was to surprise Morgan and recapture the prisoners whom he had sent on towards Charlotteville, in Virginia; and accordingly he destroyed all his heavy baggage, crossed the Catawba River[a] and endeavored by rapid marches, to intercept his (Morgan's) retreat towards the head-quarters of Greene. But Morgan was as vigilant as he was brave, and by well-executed and rapid marches, he succeeded in reaching the fords of the Catawba*[b] about two hours before the vanguard of the enemy appeared in sight. It was quite dark when Cornwallis reached the bank of the river, and feeling very confident that he could easily overtake the flying Americans in the morning, he halted there for the night. Before morning, a heavy rain which had occurred in the mountains above, so swelled the stream that it was impossible to cross it without boats, and these, the Americans had been careful to take on the opposite side. Morgan hurried the British prisoners forward, and commenced preparations to defend the passage of the fords and keep Cornwallis at bay until General Greene should arrive. Much to his surprise and pleasure, Greene made his appearance two days afterwards,[c] and took the command, having left the main division of his army opposite Cheraw, upon the banks of the Little Pedee, about ten miles south from the North Carolina line.

[a] Jan. 19.

[b] Jan. 29.

[c] Jan. 31.

As soon as the waters subsided, Cornwallis commenced fording the stream,[d] which he effected, notwithstanding the opposition of the Carolina militia, who were ordered to guard the ford. General Davidson, their commander, was killed, and finding resistance dangerous, Greene, with the whole American force, retreated towards the Yadkin. He reached that river on the evening of the second of February, and during that night and the next morning, succeeded in crossing it, with all his army, upon "flats." General O'Hara, at the head of the British van, pressed so closely upon him that he captured a few baggage-wagons which the Americans

[d] Feb. 1.

property of the Americans. Congress honored General Morgan with a gold medal; and medals of silver were presented to Colonels Washington and Howard, a sword to Colonel Pickens, and a Brevet-Major's commission to Edward Giles, Morgan's aide-de-camp.

* At Gowan's Ford, thirty miles north from the boundary of South Carolina.

were unable to take over before he arrived. Again Cornwallis, not doubting his ability to overtake Greene in the morning, halted for the night, but before dawn the rain poured down in torrents, and the Yadkin was filled to the brim, and rendered entirely unfordable! Still the British commander was not disheartened, and, marching ten miles up the river, where he found a fordable place, he crossed over and commenced a rapid pursuit of the Americans, determined to compel them to fight before they could get reinforcements from Virginia.

On the seventh of February, Greene reached Guilford Court-house, where he was joined by the other division of his army under Huger and Williams.* As about five hundred of the American army were militia, while all of the British were regulars, Greene was unwilling to hazard a battle, and therefore continued his retreat towards Irwin's Ferry, upon the river Dan, on the southern boundary of Virginia, about seventy miles from Guilford. So close again was the pursuit of Cornwallis, that Greene's rear had scarcely touched the northern banks of the Dan when the enemy's van reached the southern bank.[a] The river was not fordable at the time, and the Americans, having taken all the boats across, had, for the third time, during this remarkable retreat, a deep river placed between them and the pursuing enemy! So tangible was the hand of Providence in this, that it was regarded throughout the whole country as a mark of special favor to the American cause, and in no small degree strengthened the hopes of the Republicans.†

[a] Feb. 15.

Cornwallis, having thought it impossible for Greene to escape across the Dan into Virginia, was greatly disappointed, and gave up the pursuit. He returned to Hillsborough, in North Carolina, where he raised the royal standard and endeavored to rally around it the tories of the south, and also to win over the lukewarm republicans. Greene, in the meanwhile, reposed himself and his weary army in the rich valleys of Halifax in Virginia, in the midst of sympathizing patriots.

As soon as Greene was rested and had received reinforcements,

* His whole force now consisted of about twenty-three hundred men. Cornwallis had about twenty-five hundred men with him.

† Both armies suffered greatly from the inclemency of the weather, during this retreat of nearly two hundred miles. The enemy, however, was well clothed and fed, while the Americans were nearly destitute of clothing and shoes, yet during this retreat not a single man deserted. This fact is well established by official reports, yet a late British writer* has asserted that "the militia had nearly all deserted Greene" when he reached the Dan.

* See Pic. His. of the Reign of Geo. III., vol. i., p. 452.

which swelled his army to about four thousand four hundred men, he determined to recross the Dan into North Carolina, and commence offensive operations. Being informed that Tarleton was in the district between the Haw and Deep rivers, inciting the tories to join the royal standard, he sent Lieutenant-Colonel Lee with a body of militia and cavalry, to oppose his movements. Lee crossed the Dan on the twenty-first of February, and by a well-executed stratagem* succeeded in destroying, capturing, and dispersing nearly four hundred tories who were on their way to join Tarleton. General Greene, with the main division of his army, crossed the Dan the next day,[a] and pushed on to Guilford Court-house, within ten miles of the enemy's camp. He reached there on the fifteenth of March, and drawing his army up in three lines, awaited the attack of Cornwallis, who, on the very day of his arrival,[b] marched against him. The enemy approached in three lines, the Hessians on the right, the English in the centre, and a brigade, composed chiefly of tories, on the left. The battle was desperately fought for about an hour and a half, when Greene ordered a retreat. Both sides claimed the victory,† but if the loss of men is the criterion for determining, the triumph surely belonged to the Americans. They lost about four hundred regulars and militia; the British lost nearly six hundred in killed, wounded, and missing. Great skill and bravery were exhibited on both sides, and, considered in all its features, this conflict, for courage and skilful manœuvring, was equal to any during the war.

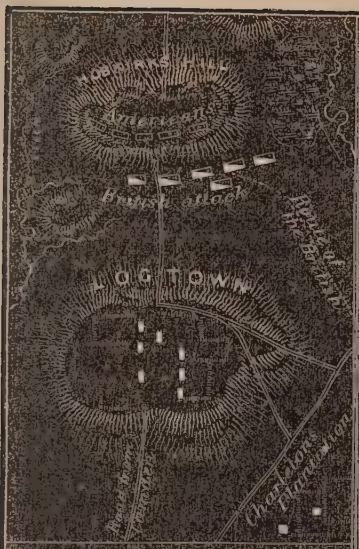
[a] Feb. 22.

[b] March 15.

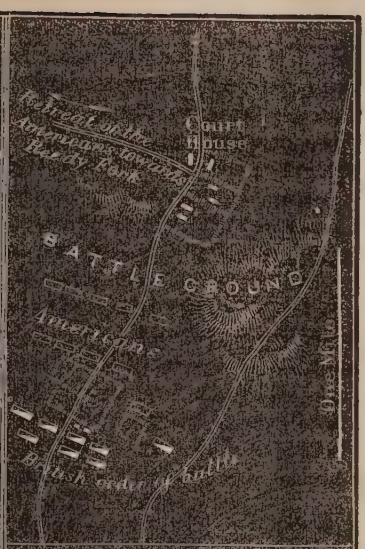
Notwithstanding his claim of victory, Cornwallis retreated towards Wilmington, closely pursued by General Greene. At Ramsay's Mills, on the Deep River, Greene halted, and while Cornwallis continued to retreat towards Wilmington, he turned southward with the intention of driving from South Carolina the division of the British

* Colonel Pyle was in command of the tory recruits, and he sent forward three of their number to find out Tarleton's camp. Lee's legion were dressed very much like that of Tarleton, and the young tories, meeting them, mistook them for the British troops. Lee took advantage of this mistake, and immediately sent word to Pickens, who was in command of riflemen in the rear, to keep out of sight in the woods, until they should receive a given signal. The young men addressed Lee as Tarleton, which name he at once assumed, and sent word to Pyle "to draw out his forces on the side of the road, so as to give convenient room for his troops to take the right position." Pyle expressed himself "happy to comply with the wishes of Colonel Tarleton," and accordingly, with smiling countenance, Lee and his legion defiled in front of the tories. When arrived at a proper position, a signal was given for the riflemen to appear, and all fell upon the hapless tories with great fury, and routed them with dreadful slaughter.

† Three days after the battle, Cornwallis issued a proclamation, boasting of victory, calling upon all good citizens to join his standard, and offering pardon to all "rebels" who should lay down their arms.

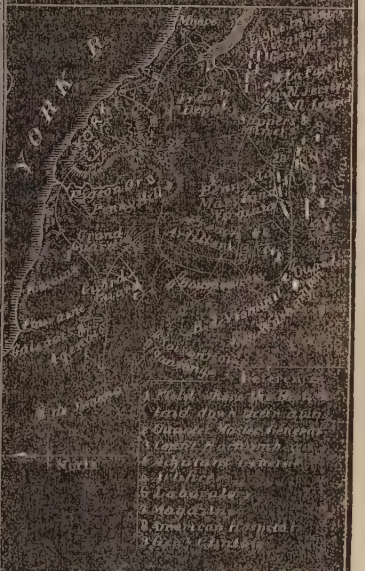


BATTLE OF HOBKIRKS HILL



BATTLE OF GUILFORD C H

OPERATIONS on the HUDSON 1781



SIEGE of YORK TOWN

army there, under the command of Lord Rawdon. On his march thitherward, many of the borderers who composed the chief bulk of Greene's militia, left and returned to their homes; and when he approached the vicinage of the British army, his force, though small, consisted almost entirely of regulars.

Early in April, Greene arrived at a place called Hobkirk's Hill, about a mile from Rawdon's encampment at Camden. He established his head-quarters there, but was soon after attacked[a] by the British commander, and another desperate battle ensued. For a long time, the result was doubtful. Greene, anticipating victory, sent a detachment to cut off the expected retreat of Rawdon, but a regiment from Maryland becoming confused by a furious charge of the enemy, disconcerted the others, and soon the rout of the Americans became general. But Greene so far restored order that he retreated with deliberation, and succeeded in carrying off six English officers prisoners. He retired with his army to Rugely's Mills, where, after some days, Rawdon, who had received a reinforcement of four hundred men (whom Marion had endeavored in vain to intercept), attempted to surprise him at night. Greene retreated to Saunder's Creek, where Rawdon made an ineffectual effort to dislodge him, and who, after burning the jail, mills, private houses, and some of his own stores, evacuated Camden,[b] and retreated south of the Santee River.

[a] April 25.

[b] May 10.

During the march of Greene to Hobkirk's Hill, he despatched Colonel Lee with his legion to join General Marion on the Santee, for the purpose of operating against a chain of British forts established between the Santee and the Congaree, the most important of which was Fort Watson on Wright's Bluff. Marion and Lee, although provided with nothing but muskets and rifles,* closely invested that fort.[c] After a resistance of eight days, the garrison was obliged to yield, and one hundred and fourteen men surrendered themselves prisoners of war.[d] Several other British posts fell in rapid succession before the victorious Americans. Orangeburgh surrendered to Sumter on the eleventh of May; Fort Motte to Marion and Lee on the twelfth; the post at Nelson's Ferry was evacuated on the fourteenth by the British; Fort Granby capitulated to Lee on the fifteenth; and on the twenty-

[c] April 15.

[d] April 23.

* The method employed by the besiegers in their attack upon the several forts, was a novel one. As they were armed with only muskets and rifles, they erected towers which overlooked the forts, and thence picked off the enemy in detail. At the siege of Augusta two of those towers were erected within thirty feet of the parapet of the fort. From there, the American riflemen, with deadly aim, shot the enemy, whenever a man dared to show himself.

first, a detachment of Lee's Legion under Captain Rudolph, reduced the fort at Silver Bluffs. Early in June, Lee and Pickens, having united their forces, penetrated into Georgia, and attacked Fort Cornwallis, at Augusta. The garrison, after a stout resistance, surrendered,[a] and over three hundred men became prisoners of war. The Americans lost during the siege about forty men. Marion, in the meanwhile, closely invested Georgetown,* and the garrison, learning the downfall of the other posts in the vicinity, evacuated the town.[b] The British were now confined to the three posts,—Ninety-six, Eutaw Springs, and Charleston.

[a] June 5.

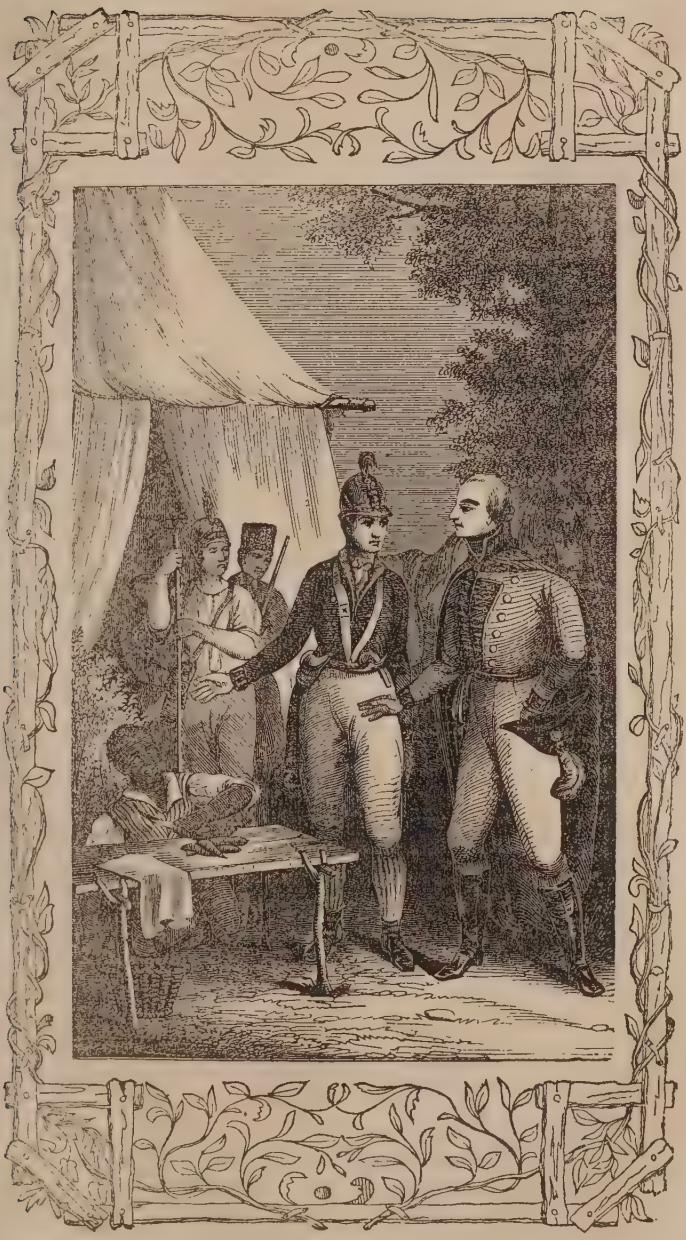
[b] June 3.

While these occurrences were transpiring in Georgia, Greene marched against the strong fortress of Ninety-six, in which Lieutenant-Colonel Cruger, with about five hundred men, was advantageously posted. He kept up a siege for nearly a month, when, on learning the approach of Lord Rawdon with about two thousand troops, he determined to storm the place. He began the assault with great vigor,[c] but was obliged to raise the siege, and on the nineteenth, he retreated across the Saluda. His loss was about one hundred and fifty men. On this occasion Kosciusko, the Polish general, particularly distinguished himself, and enhanced, if possible, the high esteem in which he was held by Washington and his officers.

[c] June 18.

Rawdon supposed Greene had retreated out of South Carolina,

* Marion, by his daring and almost always successful exploits, became the terror of the enemy at the south, particularly of the tories. For a long time he encamped upon Snow's Island, a small spot of *terra firma* in a morass at the confluence of Lynch's Creek and the Pedee. There, assisted by natural defences, he made his impregnable fortress, and with his daring little band sallied forth as occasion offered, to harass the superior foe, to cut off his convoys, or to break up, before they could well embody, the gathering and undisciplined tories. It was while encamped there towards the close of the preceding year, that an event occurred which, insignificant in itself, is peculiarly illustrative of the heroism displayed by the Americans at that period, under the greatest privations. A young British officer was sent from the post at Georgetown, to Marion's swamp encampment, to effect an exchange of prisoners. He had never seen Marion, and was greatly astonished at finding such a noted man so diminutive in size, especially when compared to the British generals then in the field, whose average weight, it is asserted, was more than 200 pounds. Having finished their business, the young officer prepared to depart, but was invited by Marion to stop and dine. The invitation was accepted, and the entertainment was served up on pieces of bark. It consisted entirely of roasted potatoes, of which the General ate heartily, and requested his guest to do the same, adding, "hunger is the best sauce." "But, surely, General," said the astonished officer, "this cannot be your ordinary fare?" "Indeed, sir, it is," he replied, "and we are fortunate, on this occasion, entertaining company, to have more than our usual allowance." It is said that the young officer, on returning to his post, threw up his commission, declaring that men who could contentedly endure such privations, were not to be subdued.—*See Simms's Life of Marion*, pp. 168–180.



British Officer invited to Dine with Marion. P. 336.

and divided his forces, fixing a detachment upon the Congaree; but he was soon undeceived by the sudden attack of Lee upon a foraging party, within a mile of the British camp. About forty of Rawdon's cavalry were captured. Rawdon retreated to Orangeburgh and summoned Cruger to join him with the garrison of Ninety-six, which junction was effected, although much delayed by the attempts of Greene to prevent it. At Orangeburgh Rawdon received reinforcements from Charleston under Colonel Stewart, and Greene, unable to withstand the combined armies, retired to the high hills of the Santee,[a] where his troops would avoid the prevailing sickness of the season in the low countries. He endeavored, by sending out detachments under Marion, Sumter, and Lee, to draw Rawdon from his position. They effectually interrupted the communication between Charleston and the British camp, on discovering which, the enemy evacuated all their posts north of the Santee and Congaree, and retired to Eutaw Springs, about fifty miles from Charleston.* Greene pursued them, and being joined by Marion,[b] resolved to attack them at once.

[a] July 15.

[b] Sept. 7.

The next day[c] the Americans, numbering about two thousand, moved to the attack. An advance guard of the British were compelled to fall back, and soon the battle became general. The contest lasted nearly four hours, and great bravery was exhibited on both sides. Colonel Campbell, who with Colonel Williams, was leading on the Maryland and Virginia regiments, was mortally wounded. Learning that the British were dispersing, he, like Wolfe at Quebec under similar circumstances, exclaimed,

[c] Sept. 8.

* Lord Rawdon here resigned his command to Colonel Stewart, and soon afterwards returned to England. While he was at Charleston, a scene of cruelty occurred, which, it is said, he tried in vain to prevent. When Charleston surrendered to the British, it was stipulated that the citizens should be allowed to remain quiet, and not be called upon to take up arms for the crown. This contract was soon violated, and they were summoned to join the royal standard. Among them was Colonel Isaac Hayne, a man greatly beloved, and at that time living upon his plantation near the city. He was required to subscribe to an allegiance to the British crown and an agreement to bear arms in its support, or return to Charleston. To the last clause he objected, but being told that it would not be required of him, and anxious to be at home on account of his dying wife, he subscribed. But when, contrary to assurances, he was called upon to take up arms, he joined the Americans, and was soon after taken prisoner by the British. He was conducted to Colonel Balfour, the commandant of Charleston, who, after a mock trial, sentenced him to be hung. Many British and loyalist residents, with Governor Bull at their head, together with all the ladies of Charleston, petitioned for his life. His little children, whose mother had just been laid in the grave, implored their father's life upon their knees before Balfour, but all in vain. Lord Rawdon's interposition is doubtful: at any rate, he gave his sanction to the execution, and, under the plea of justice, the excellent Colonel Hayne was deprived of his life.

"Then I die contented!" and immediately expired. The British were vigorously pursued by Lee, and upwards of five hundred were taken prisoners. Greene drew off his troops and retreated to the place of his encampment, upon the high hills of the Santee, and Stewart, during the night, retired to Monk's Corner. The loss of the British in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was upwards of eleven hundred; that of the Americans over five hundred, of which number there were sixty officers.

With the battle of Eutaw ended the campaign in South Carolina for the year—in fact no further hostilities occurred there during the war, and the British abandoned the open country and retired to Charleston. There was a great change in the circumstances of the two armies in this quarter at the close of the year; the British at the beginning of the campaign being in the possession of South Carolina and Georgia, but now occupying only the ports of Charleston and Savannah. We will now resume our narrative of events in Virginia.

Cornwallis, late in April, left Wilmington, and marching northward, formed a junction with the forces of Phillips* and Arnold at Petersburg.[a] He tried to bring La Fayette (then in command of about three thousand troops for the defence of Virginia) into an engagement, but failing in this he proceeded to overrun the country and spread desolation with fire and sword. One expedition under Tarleton penetrated to Charlottesville, took several members of the Virginia Assembly prisoners, and came very near capturing Governor Jefferson. Cornwallis, in the meantime, attempted to capture American stores at Albemarle Old Court-house, while La Fayette was effecting a junction with General Wayne with a reinforcement of eight hundred men of the Pennsylvania line, but was foiled by the active vigilance of the Marquis, who, after a rapid march, succeeded in encamping between his stores and the British lines.† The latter then retired to Richmond, and after capturing that place and Williamsburg, prepared to proceed to the sea-coast, pursuant to an order just received from Sir Henry Clinton, who, apprehending an attack from the combined American and French forces under Washington and Rochambeau, wished to have Cornwallis in a position to reinforce him if necessary. While

[a] May 20.

* General Phillips died a few days before his arrival.

† In consideration of the great military skill displayed by La Fayette during this campaign in Virginia, his King commanded the French Minister of War to express to the Marquis his approbation, and assure him that he should be raised to the rank of a Field Marshal of France, as soon as the American war should terminate.

proceeding from Williamsburg to Portsmouth he was attacked by La Fayette,[a] whose force now numbered about four thousand men. Wayne led the vanguard, and supposing the body of the British army had crossed the James River, he pushed boldly forward to attack the loitering rear. He was greatly surprised to find the whole army there; but he instantly conceived the best mode of extricating himself to be a sudden attack before retreating. He executed the feat with admirable success, and Cornwallis, probably suspecting an ambush, did not pursue him, but crossed the river and proceeded to Portsmouth.[b] Not pleased with Portsmouth as a place of residence for his army, he soon moved on to Yorktown, on the south side of the York River, and immediately commenced fortifying it.[c] Gloucester Point, opposite Yorktown, was occupied by Tarleton and a part of his legion. The whole British force in Virginia at this time was about seven thousand men.*

[a] July 6.

[b] Aug. 1.

[c] Aug. 22.

On the twenty-second of May Washington held a conference at Weathersfield, in Connecticut, with the French officers, and they agreed upon an early junction of the two armies upon the Hudson, for the purpose of either making a combined attack upon New York, or of marching southward against the enemy in Virginia and the Carolinas. Accordingly Washington drew his troops from their several quarters and took his first position at Peekskill, but soon afterwards he advanced southward towards New York and encamped at Phillipsburgh,[d] near Dobb's Ferry, nearly twelve miles from the north end of York Island, where he was joined[e] by Rochambeau and his troops, who had marched in four divisions from Hartford. Reflecting that the hot season at the south would be fatal to many of the northern troops, Washington prepared to attack Clinton at New York, rather than proceed to Virginia. The Americans encamped in two lines, with their right resting on the Hudson, and the French, in a single line, occupied the left, extending to the Bronx River. General Lincoln was despatched with about eight hundred men in boats, as an advance division to make the attack. They landed and took post at Kingsbridge, but owing to the delay of the Duke de Lauzun, who was to fall upon a corps of the enemy at Morrisania, nothing but

[d] July 4.

[e] July 6.

* In the bold and rapid march of Cornwallis from North Carolina into Virginia, a vast amount of public and private property was laid waste. The growing crops were destroyed upon the ground, the barns were burned, and all the fences and landmarks of the plantations were scattered to the winds. It is estimated that in the course of the invasion of Collier, Leslie, Arnold, Phillips, and Cornwallis, about thirty thousand slaves were carried off from Virginia, and property destroyed to the amount of fifteen millions of dollars!

some slight skirmishing occurred. Washington pushed forward with the main army to within four miles of Kingsbridge,[a] to assist Lincoln if necessary, but during the night he returned to Dobb's Ferry, and in this position the two armies remained about six weeks. The American Commander, observing how tardily his call for troops was responded to, and informed of the strength of the enemy, who had just been reinforced, resolved not to make an attack until the arrival of the French fleet from the West Indies, under the Count de Grasse, then daily expected. At length he received a letter from De Grasse,[b] informing him that he was about to sail with his whole fleet, and three thousand two hundred land troops, for the Chesapeake. Washington at once resolved to abandon the project of an attack upon New York, and with the cordial co-operation of De Rochambeau, proceeded without delay towards Virginia, under the general marching command of Lincoln, with the whole of the French army, and as many Americans as could be spared from the posts on the Hudson.* Washington and De Rochambeau preceded the army† and reached La Fayette's head-quarters at Williamsburg on the fourteenth of September, where, soon after, the whole army arrived.‡[c]

[a] July 21.

[b] Aug. 14.

[c] Sept. 25.

As soon as Clinton learned positively the destination of the combined armies, he sent Arnold on a plundering expedition against Connecticut, hoping thereby to draw off a part of the American troops, and perhaps cause Washington to return; but in this he was disappointed. Arnold landed at the mouth of the Thames[d] and marched against Fort Trumbull, at New London, fourteen miles south of Norwich, the native place of the traitor. The fort was evacuated on his approach, and he proceeded in imitation of Tryon, whom he had opposed on a similar expedition, to lay the town in ashes.[e] A very large amount

[d] Sept. 6.

[e] Sept. 6.

* The forces on the Hudson were left in command of General Heath, one of the most useful officers of the Revolution.

† On his way, Washington made a flying visit to his residence at Mount Vernon for the first time in six years, so completely had he devoted himself to the service of his country.

‡ The march of this army through a fertile country, a distance of more than five hundred miles, was remarkable for its order and discipline. It was at a season "when," says Ramsay, "the most delicious productions of nature growing on and near the public highways, presented both opportunity and temptation to gratify their appetites. Yet so complete was their discipline, that in this long march scarce an instance could be produced of an apple or a peach being taken without the consent of the inhabitants."—*Hist. Revolution*, vol. ii., p. 267. The French were particularly scrupulous. At Rhode Island, "the Indians expressed their astonishment at nothing but to see still laden with fruit the trees that overhung the tents which the soldiers had occupied for three months."—*De Rochambeau's Narrative.*

of public and private property was destroyed. On the same day a party of British troops attacked Fort Griswold, opposite Fort Trumbull, which was surrendered after an obstinate resistance by the garrison. Yet, after the surrender, all but about forty of the garrison were cruelly massacred.* The enemy lost in the siege, forty-three killed, and one hundred and forty-five wounded. Arnold, having done all the mischief in his power, and glutted his vengeance, returned to New York.

In the meanwhile, the Count de Grasse, with twenty-six ships of the line and some frigates, entered Chesapeake Bay, having had a brief engagement with the British Admiral, Graves, off the capes. Count de Barras, with the French squadron from Newport, arrived at the same time. Three thousand troops under the Marquis de St. Simon, embarked from the French fleet in light boats, ascended the James River, and joined the allied armies at Williamsburgh. The whole combined forces then took up their line of march for Yorktown, and on the thirtieth of September completely invested the place. The Americans were stationed on the right, and the French on the left, in a semicircular line, each wing resting on York River. The post at Gloucester was invested by Lauzun's legion, marines from the fleet, and Virginian militia, under the command of M. de Choisy, a brigadier general in the French service.

The works erected for the security of Yorktown, on the right, were redoubts and batteries, and a line of stockade in the rear, while in front was a marshy ravine, over which was placed a large redoubt. The Americans began operations on the evening of their arrival, and so silently and perseveringly did they work at their first parallel, that the next morning at dawn, greatly to the surprise and alarm of the enemy, it was so far completed as to protect the besiegers from the shots of the batteries. On the ninth and tenth of October, the Americans and French opened their batteries, and their shells and hot shot reached the English ships in the harbor, and destroyed a forty-four gun ship and a transport. The siege lasted seventeen days, the principal events during the time being the storming of two redoubts simultaneously; one by a party of American light infantry, the other by a detachment of French grenadiers and chasseurs; the former headed by La Fayette, the latter by the Baron de Viomenil. The advanced corps of the Americans was led by Col. Alexander

* Colonel Ledyard who commanded the garrison, on being asked by a British officer, "Who commands?" replied, "I did, but you do now," at the same time handing him his sword. The miscreant immediately plunged it into Ledyard's bosom, and then a general massacre ensued. This event greatly exasperated the Americans, and disgusted the loyalists.

Hamilton, and in the action, Colonels Laurens, Gimat, and Barber, were distinguished.*

The siege was vigorously kept up until the seventeenth of October, when Cornwallis proposed a cessation of hostilities, and the appointment of a commission to conclude upon terms for surrendering the posts of Yorktown and Gloucester.† The proposition was accepted by Washington, commissioners were appointed,‡ terms of surrender settled, and the articles were signed at the house of Mr. Moore, near the battle-ground, on the nineteenth of October.

According to the terms, all the troops in the garrison were to be made prisoners of war, and marched into the country; the artillery, arms, military chest, and all munitions of war, with shipping, boats, furniture, and apparel, were to be delivered up; the officers retaining their side-arms, and both officers and soldiers preserving their baggage and effects. The surrendering army was to receive the same honors as were granted by the British to the American garrison at Charleston. On the afternoon of the day on which the capitulation was signed,[a] the garrison marched out, and laid down their arms.§ The soldiers were surrendered to Washington, and the shipping in the harbor to Count de Grasse.‖ The whole number of prisoners was a little over seven thousand. The British lost during the siege in killed, between five and six hundred, the Americans lost about three hundred.¶ The allied army at the time of the attack, consisted of about seven thousand American regular troops, five thousand French, and four thousand militia. The British force consisted only of about one-half that number, and doubtless Cornwallis would have abandoned Yorktown before its

[a] Oct. 19.

* Sparks, p. 340.

† On the evening of the sixteenth, the whole of the walls being nearly battered down, and almost every gun dismounted, by the heavy and incessant fire of a hundred pieces of ordnance, Cornwallis attempted to retreat by way of Gloucester, but a violent storm arose, which dispersed his boats, and he saw no other alternative than to surrender.

‡ The commissioners were Colonel Laurens and Viscount de Noailles on the part of the Americans and French, and Colonel Dundas and Major Ross on the part of the British.

§ It is related that when the British soldiers were about to march out and lay down their arms, Washington said to the American army, "My boys, let there be no insults over a conquered foe! When they lay down their arms don't huzza: *posterity will huzza for you!*"

‖ Congress passed a special vote of thanks to each of the commanders, and to the officers and troops; presented Washington with two stands of colors; gave Rochambeau and de Grasse two field pieces each; and resolved to erect a marble column upon the spot where the surrender took place.

¶ Sparks, p. 343.

Surrender of Cornwallis. P. 342.

investment, had he not confidently expected reinforcements from Clinton.*

The surrender of Cornwallis sent a thrill of joy through the country, and, in effect, recovered into the power of Congress, the whole territory of the thirteen States.† Public celebrations were held—illuminations, bonfires, the roar of cannon, and the voice of oratory, everywhere testified the universal joy; and Washington set apart a day for the performance of divine service in the army, enjoining the troops "to engage in it with a serious deportment, and that sensibility of heart which the surprising and particular interposition of Providence in their favor claimed." As soon as Congress received intelligence of the joyful event, the members marched in procession to one of the principal churches in Philadelphia, and there publicly offered up thanksgiving to God for the signal success of the American arms. They also appointed the thirteenth of December as a day for public thanksgiving and prayer throughout the Union.

Washington endeavored, but in vain, to induce the Count de Grasse to remain and assist in the reduction of Charleston, or at least to aid in an attack upon Wilmington, in North Carolina, but he pleaded special engagements in the West Indies, and refused even to delay his departure long enough to take on board some troops to be landed at a more southerly port, to reinforce General Greene. De Grasse sailed immediately for the West Indies,[a] leaving with Rochambeau the three thousand land troops he brought with him. The French army were cantoned during the winter at Williamsburgh, in Virginia, whither the Yorktown prisoners were marched; and the main body of the American army returned to its late position in New Jersey and upon the Hudson. A strong detachment under General St. Clair was sent to the south to strengthen the army of Greene.‡

[a] Nov. 5.

* The tardy movements of Sir Henry Clinton twice lost the British a large force; first, nearly six thousand men at Saratoga; and now more than seven thousand at Yorktown. On the very day Cornwallis surrendered, Clinton left New York with seven thousand men to reinforce him, but on reaching the Capes of the Chesapeake, he heard of the capture of Yorktown, and immediately returned to New York.

† "The year 1781 terminated in all parts of the United States, in favor of the Americans. It began with weakness in Carolina, mutiny in New Jersey, and devastation in Virginia: nevertheless, at its close, the British were confined in their strongholds in or near New York, Charleston, and Savannah, and their whole army in Virginia was captured."—*Ramsay*, vol. ii., p. 275.

‡ As soon as these various arrangements were made, Washington hastened to Eltham, where his wife was attending her dying son (and her only one), Mr. Custis. He was present at his death, and deep indeed was the hero's grief, for he had been the foster-father of the dying man from his early childhood, and he seemed as near to him as his own child. Mr. Custis was then a member of the Virginia Legislature,

Parliament assembled on the twenty-seventh of November, and their first business was a consideration of the news of the disasters in America, which reached ministers officially on Sunday, the twenty-fifth.* Violent debates ensued, and Fox even went so far as to intimate that Lord North was in the pay of the French. The minister indignantly repelled the insinuation, and justified the war on the ground of its justice, and the maintenance of British rights. Upon this point, however, he was violently assailed by Burke, who exclaimed; "Good God! are we yet to be told of the rights for which we went to war! Oh, excellent rights! Oh, valuable rights! Valuable you should be, for we have paid dear at parting with you. Oh, valuable rights! that have cost Britain thirteen provinces, four islands,† one hundred thousand men and more than seventy millions (three hundred and fifty millions of dollars) of money!" The younger Pitt distinguished himself in this debate, and was a powerful aid to the opposition. On the thirtieth of November, the opposition proposed the bold measure (last adopted during the revolution of 1688) of not granting supplies until the ministers should give a pledge to the people that the war in America should cease. This motion, however, was lost by a vote of nearly two to one. Several conflicting propositions were made by both parties, but without any definite result, and on the twentieth of December Parliament adjourned to the twenty-first of January.[a]

[a] 1782.

The attention of Parliament was called, early in the session, to the case of Ex-President Laurens, still confined in the Tower; and Burke presented a petition from the prisoner,[b] written with a black-lead pencil on the blank leaf of a book, asking leave to use pen, ink, and paper (which had hitherto been denied him), to draw a bill of exchange to procure some money. After much delay it was granted, and not long after, he was released on bail, in consequence of his bodily infirmities. He was soon afterwards exchanged

[b] Dec. 20.

and was only twenty-eight years of age when he died. He left four infant children, the two younger of whom (a son and daughter) were adopted by Washington. From Elthan he proceeded by way of Mount Vernon to Philadelphia, and was everywhere greeted with respect and veneration, on his journey, by all classes. Congress received him with marked honor, and greeted him with a congratulatory address by the President.

* "I asked," says Wraxhall, "Lord George Germaine afterwards, how Lord North took the communication." "As he would have taken a cannon-ball in his breast," he replied, "for he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the apartment a few minutes, 'Oh, God! it is all over!' words which he repeated many times, under emotions of the deepest consternation and distress."—*See N. W. Wraxhall's Historical Memoirs of his own times.*"

† He referred to the disasters in the West Indies, and the loss of Minorca in the Mediterranean

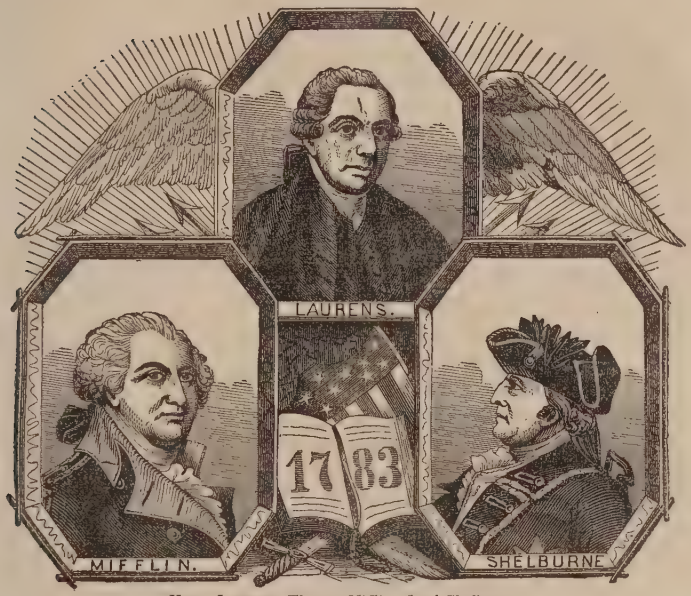
Exchange of Burgoyne. Naval operations.

for Burgoyne, who, though at large in England, and constantly debating in the House of Commons on the side of the opposition, was still held as a prisoner upon parole.

So much did the Americans rely upon the French navy to combat with the fleets of Great Britain, that the naval armament of the States never grew beyond a comparatively feeble infancy, yet it was none the less courageous than its maturer ally, and seldom avoided an engagement. Still, its operations were so limited, after the exploits of Jones, that a few words of notice will suffice.

In June, 1780, the twenty-eight gun ship Trumbull, commanded by Captain Nicholson, attacked the British ship Watt, of greatly superior strength, and was disabled, but not captured. She lost thirty-two in killed and wounded; the enemy lost ninety-two. In October, the sixteen-gun sloop Saratoga, Captain Young, captured a British ship and two brigs, but while convoying them into port, was overtaken by the seventy-four Intrepid, and the prizes were recaptured. The Saratoga escaped. On the second of April, 1781, the Alliance, Captain Barry, captured two Guernsey privateers; and soon after, she captured two British men-of-war, one of which was retaken on its way to America. In June, the Confederacy, Captain Harding, was captured by two armed British vessels. In August, the Trumbull was captured by three British cruisers, off the Capes of the Delaware; and on the sixth of September, the Congress, Captain Geddes, captured the British ship Savage, after a desperate encounter. She was afterwards recaptured.

Moore's House—Yorktown, Va.



Henry Laurens—Thomas Mifflin—Lord Shelburne.

CHAPTER XII.

IT is now our pleasing task to record the events that marked the closing scenes of the War of Independence, which for seven long years had crushed to earth with merciless tread, both the peaceful industry and its fruits, of the people of the American States. They sighed for peace, yet the peace for which they aspired was that alone which absolute political freedom and independence guarantees, without which no State can be truly prosperous—no people essentially happy.

Notwithstanding the power of Great Britain within the domain of her ancient American States was completely paralysed, yet so

frequently had the Republicans seen her break the thousand meshes of discouraging events that were often toiled about her, that they dared not trust her seeming weakness, and become lulled into a careless repose.

As vigilant measures as ever were adopted by Washington for the campaign of 1782, but fortunately they were unnecessary, for active hostilities soon after ceased. In the southern States some skirmishing took place, particularly in Georgia and South Carolina; but these combats were chiefly partisan, and carried on with intense hatred by the whigs and tories.

After the surrender of Cornwallis, Greene, being reinforced by the Pennsylvania line, sent Wayne with a part of the southern army into Georgia. General Clarke, the British commander, ordered his officers at the outposts to burn all the provisions of the country as far as possible, and then retire within the lines at Savannah. The State was thus evacuated, and the Republican Governor re-established authority.[a] On the same day, Colonel Brown, with a considerable force, marched out of Savannah against Wayne; but the vigilant American, by a skilful manœuvre, got in his rear, attacked him at midnight, and routed his whole party. Wayne was afterwards assaulted about five miles from Savannah, by a large party of Creek Indians, led on by their chiefs and British officers, but he successfully repelled them, and this was the concluding battle in Georgia.[a] In July, arrangements were made for withdrawing the royal troops from that State. Some slight skirmishes took place in South Carolina in August, in one of which Colonel John Laurens was killed.

[a] May 21.

[a] June 24.

General Washington left Philadelphia about the middle of April, and established the head-quarters of his army at Newburgh, in the State of New York, about eight miles north of West Point. On his arrival in camp he was informed of the murder, by hanging, of Captain Huddy, an American officer, which outrage he determined to avenge by a retaliatory step, and for this purpose selected a British officer by lot, from among his prisoners at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. The lot fell upon Captain Asgill (son of Sir Charles Asgill), a very young officer; but after a great deal of delay, prompted by the generous humanity of the Commander-in-chief, it was resolved to forego the rigorous measure, and young Asgill was set at liberty.*

* Captain Huddy commanded a small force in New Jersey, and was taken prisoner by a party of refugees and carried to New York. He was sent out of the city under the charge of Captain Lippencot, at the head of a number of refugees, and upon the heights of Middletown they hanged the unfortunate prisoner. Captain Asgill, who was selected as the victim for retaliation, was only nineteen years of age. Sir

Hostilities having, by tacit consent, ceased in America, let us now turn to a view of events in Europe, tending towards an acknowledgment of the Independence of the United States.

The combined effects of the Armed Neutrality (at the head of which was the Empress Catharine, of Russia), and the defeat of Cornwallis, upon the minds of the people of Great Britain, raised an universal cry for peace throughout the realm. The resources of the country were nearly exhausted; all Europe was arming against her; America was virtually severed from her, and the people clamored for the recognition of the Independence of the United States, and the conclusion of peace with the Continental powers. When Parliament re-assembled on the twentieth of January, a phalanx of first-rank statesmen appeared with the opposition—Fox, the younger Pitt, Burke, Rockingham, Shelburne, and others. The unpopularity of ministers was very evident, and on the nineteenth of February, this fact was glaringly exhibited by the result of a vote taken upon a resolution offered by General Conway, for an address to the King, deprecating the continuance of the war in America, &c. It was negatived by a majority of only *one*. On the twenty-seventh, Conway renewed his motion in another shape, and Lord North endeavored to stay its adoption by an adjournment, but was defeated. Conway then moved that the House would consider as enemies to their King and country, all who should advise or attempt the further prosecution of the war. This was adopted.[a] Lord George Germaine, seeing the tendency of affairs, resigned, but Lord North clung pertinaciously to his office. On the twentieth of March, North resigned, after an administration of over ten years. The Marquis of Rockingham again assumed the Premiership, and the friends of peace came into power.

[a] March 8.

Sir Guy Carleton, who was appointed to succeed Sir Henry Clinton in command of all the British forces in America, arrived at New York early in May, bearing instructions to use all honorable means to bring about an accommodation with the United States. In consequence of these peaceful features of the mission of the new commander, both parties ceased offensive warfare, and preparations were made to conclude terms of Peace. France invited Congress to send

Henry Clinton, and his successor, Sir Guy Carleton, both disavowed the act of Lippencot, and Washington, considering the irresponsible character of the miscreant, recommended Congress to release Asgill. Its movements were tardy, and in the meanwhile, the mother of the young soldier, borne down with family afflictions, wrote a pathetic appeal to the King and Queen of France in behalf of her son. By their directions the Count de Vergennes wrote in her behalf to Washington, but his generosity had anticipated the letter. It, however, doubtless accelerated the movement of Congress in the matter, and Asgill was soon set at liberty.

plenipotentiaries for that purpose (the Empress of Russia having offered to mediate, and the Emperor of Germany having agreed to become a party thereto), and, if possible, bring about a cessation of hostilities between France, Spain, Holland, and Great Britain. Accordingly, John Jay, Henry Laurens (who had been confined in the Tower of London), and Thomas Jefferson, were sent with almost unlimited powers, to act in concert with John Adams, then Ambassador at Paris. Doctor Franklin, who was about leaving for America, was prevailed upon to remain and assist in the momentous labor.

Vienna was agreed upon as the place of negotiation, but at the outset, difficulties arose concerning the basis on which it should be conducted. The American Commissioners refused to appear in any other character than as representatives of an independent nation, while the British Cabinet made the dissolution of the league between France and the United States an essential preliminary. This the Americans would not concede, and the mediatory scheme was abandoned.

Rockingham and his cabinet, sincerely desiring peace, opened negotiations on a lower basis, although opposed by the King and Lord Shelburne, so far as the recognition of the Independence of the States was concerned. Mr. Oswald was sent to Paris to ascertain the views of both parties, and also to negotiate with the Americans; and the Count de Vergennes expressed his readiness to negotiate, and his wish that Paris might be made the theatre of action. His wish was acceded to, and Mr. Grenville went to Paris, clothed with full powers to conclude a treaty; but difficulties again arose at the outset. He intimated to Vergennes that one condition of the acknowledgment of American Independence by Great Britain, would be the restoration, by the French, of conquests made during the War. This stipulation Vergennes decidedly refused to agree to.

Rockingham was removed by death on the first of July, and Lord Shelburne, a friend of the American cause, but like Chatham, an opponent of American Independence, succeeded him in the Premiership. Still, the negotiations at Paris proceeded; Mr. Fitzherbert having succeeded Mr. Grenville. Oswald continued to conduct the American treaty,* but the style of his commission did not suit the

* Mr. Jones, afterwards the celebrated Sir William Jones, went to Paris for the purpose of sounding the Americans on the subject of a continued union with reciprocal privileges, between Great Britain and the United States. He sent to Franklin a curious imaginary fragment of Polybius, respecting the dissensions between Athens and her colonies, hoping thereby to draw out from the veteran diplomatist his views upon the subject. But no notice was taken of this overture.—*See Appendix*, Note IX.

sturdy Republican, Mr. Jay, as it gave him power to treat with the "Colonies or plantations in America." His objections were so strong that a new Commission was sent over,[a] in which the expression was altered to "United States." [a] Sept. 21.

The question as to Independence being affirmatively settled, there were still other points upon which very warm discussion arose: First, The western boundary—the Americans demanding its extension to the lakes, the British wishing it to be formed by the Ohio River: Second, Our requisition of a share in the valuable fisheries of Newfoundland and its vicinity: and Third, The compensation to loyalists or tories, who had sustained losses during the War, or who had been driven out of the country. The American Commissioners took a resolute stand on all these points, but in the latter they were not only not supported, but opposed, by Vergennes. At this point, Mr Oswald, earnestly desirous for peace, proposed to the Americans to make a treaty separate from France, but they were bound by the instructions given them by Congress, to act strictly in concert with the French Cabinet. Through the influence of Mr. Adams, these instructions were winked at, and a preliminary treaty of peace was concluded with Mr. Oswald,* without the knowledge of Vergennes. At this the minister was very indignant, and wrote a letter to Franklin, accusing him of violating his instructions, and demanding an explanation. The Americans justified the act—the French minister was satisfied—and Congress never found fault with them.

On the twentieth of January following,[b] the preliminary treaty was signed between France, Spain,† and Great Britain, and on the third of September of the same year, definitive treaties of all the powers were signed at one time. Congress ratified the one with America on the fourteenth of January, 1784.‡ [b] 1783.

The reception of the news of the acknowledgment of the Independence of the States and the conclusion of Peace, was the occasion of great joy throughout the Union, and on the anniversary of the battle of Lexington,[c] a cessation of hostilities was proclaimed in the American army. On the third of November following,[d] the army was disbanded by general orders of [c] April 19. [d] 1783.

* The River St. Lawrence and the Lakes were fixed as the leading boundaries, and extending their frontier thence to the Mississippi. They were allowed to fish on the Great Banks of Newfoundland within nine miles of the shores; and in relation to the compensation to loyalists, the American Commissioners agreed that Congress should recommend it to the several States. The treaty was signed on the thirtieth of November, 1782.—*See Pitkin*, vol. ii., p. 143–148.

† In the treaty with Spain, the two Floridas, which had long been held by Great Britain, were restored to the former.

‡ Appendix, Note X.

Congress, and the three cities occupied by British troops were evacuated; Savannah in July, New York in November, and Charleston in December, of the same year.

The conclusion of Peace, and the disbanding of the army, were events that reflecting men looked forward to with feelings of mingled joy and fear. Although the struggle had been brought to a triumphant issue by the United States, yet the country was impoverished to almost the last degree. Much of the territory had been laid waste; commerce was nearly annihilated; a heavy burden of debt* was weighing like an incubus upon the enterprise of the people; and their circulating medium had become so utterly worthless, that, by a decree of Congress, its functions were terminated. Added to this, an army of about ten thousand men were large creditors to Congress, their pay being greatly in arrears. They had been promised prompt liquidation at the close of the war, but so crippled was the government in its pecuniary affairs, that justice to the brave soldiers in this particular was out of the question. Many feared an open insurrection, and perhaps a civil war, when orders should be given for disbanding the army; for starving men, with arms in their hands, were quite likely to help themselves. Events which immediately preceded the act of disbanding, threatened to realize these fears.

It was manifest that Congress was unable to meet the claims of the soldiers, and could only recommend their case to their respective States. The proposition made in 1780, for the officers to receive half-pay for life, met with little favor, as it was of an aristocratic tendency; and although the promise was still standing, they regarded it as a matter that would not be accomplished. A spirit of discontent prevailed in the camp, and in the midst of these gloomy forebodings, Washington received a letter from an old and highly respectable Colonel of the army, expressing distrust of the stability of a republican government, proposing the establishment of an Independent Monarchy, and intimating the desire of the army to make the Commander-in-chief KING. To this letter Washington made quick reply, sternly rebuking the writer.† He declared that no event during the war had given him so much pain, that he was at a loss to conceive what part of his conduct had given encouragement to such an address, avowed his earnest desire to have justice done the army,

* The United States had incurred a debt of forty-two millions of dollars, besides twenty-four millions incurred by the individual States. Taxation could not yield a tithe of the amount demanded through it, and in 1782, of eight millions of dollars called for by the government, only four hundred and twenty thousand were obtained.

† His letter is dated "Newburgh, 22d May, 1782."

and his firm adherence to republican principles, and concluded, "Let me conjure you, then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself or posterity, or respect for me, to banish those thoughts from your mind; and never communicate, as from yourself or any one else, a sentiment of the like nature." How pure and lofty was the patriotism of that chief who, at the head of a devoted army, and at the pinnacle of general popularity, could thus repel a proffered crown, and so indignantly rebuke the man who held it up to view!

In the month of December, the officers in the army resolved to memorialize Congress upon the subject of their grievances, proposing that the half-pay for life should be commuted for a specific sum, and requesting government to give security for the fulfilment of its engagements. Congress had a stormy debate upon the subject, but as nine States could not be obtained to vote the commutation proposition, the whole matter was dropped. This neglect of Congress to provide for their wants, produced a violent ferment among the officers, and through them the whole army became excited, and many minds among them determined upon coercive measures. In the midst of this ferment an anonymous notice for a meeting of the general and field officers, and a commissioned officer from each company, was circulated in the camp,[a] accompanied with a letter, or address, complaining of their great hardships, and asserting that their country, instead of relieving them, "trampled upon their rights, disdained their cries, and insulted their distresses."*

[a] March 10.

Fortunately, Washington was in the camp, and with his usual promptness and wisdom, called a general meeting of all the officers, in place of the irregular one.† He condemned the tone of the letter as implying a proposal either to desert their country or turn their arms against her, and then gave them the strongest pledges that he would use his utmost power to induce Congress to grant their demands. His address was a feeling one, and appealed directly to their patriotism and the nobler sentiments of the heart. When he had concluded, he immediately retired from the meeting. The deliberations of the officers were exceedingly brief, and resulted in the adoption of resolutions, thanking the Commander-in-chief for the course he had pursued, and expressing their unabated attachment to him, and confidence in the justice and good faith of Congress.

* It was unknown at the time, who the author of the "Newburgh Addresses" was, but it was afterwards ascertained to be Major John Armstrong, then one of General Gates's aides, who was subsequently a Minister to the Court of France, and Secretary of War during our last contest with Great Britain.

† This call was followed by another anonymous address, but more subdued in its tone than the first.—*See Appendix*, Note XI.

They then separated, and with hearts glowing with warmer patriotism, resolved still longer to endure privations for their beloved country. Congress soon after made arrangements for granting the officers full pay for five years instead of half-pay for life, and four months full pay for the army, in part payment of arrearages. But as there were no funds to make this payment immediately, it required all the address of Washington to induce the soldiers to quietly return to their homes.

On the twenty-fourth of March,[a] a letter was received from La Fayette, announcing the signing of the preliminary treaty; and Sir Guy Carleton gave official notice of the same soon after. In June, Washington wrote a Circular Letter* to the Governors of the States, having for its theme the general welfare of the country, in which he exhibited great ability, and the most truthful features of genuine patriotism. During the summer, many of the troops went home on furlough, and the Commander-in-chief was employed, with Congress, in arranging a peace establishment, and making preparations for the evacuation of New York by the British troops. On the eighteenth of October, Congress issued a proclamation, discharging the troops from further service, and thus, in effect, the Continental army was disbanded. This proclamation was soon followed by General Washington's Farewell Address to the Army,†[b] an address replete with sound wisdom and evidences of a virtuous attachment to the men and the cause with whom, and for which, he had labored for eight years.

[a] 1783.

[b] Nov. 2.

A small body of troops who had enlisted for a definite period, were retained in the service, and assembled at West Point under General Knox. Arrangements having been made with Carleton for the evacuation and surrender of New York on the twenty-fifth of November, these troops proceeded to the city, and as soon as the British were embarked, they entered in triumphal procession, with Governor Clinton and other civil officers of the State. The ceremonies of the day were ended by a public entertainment given by Governor Clinton, and throughout the whole transaction, perfect order prevailed.

On the fourth of December, Washington bade a final adieu to his companions in arms.‡ The event took place at New York, and was

* Appendix, Note XII. † Appendix, Note XIII.

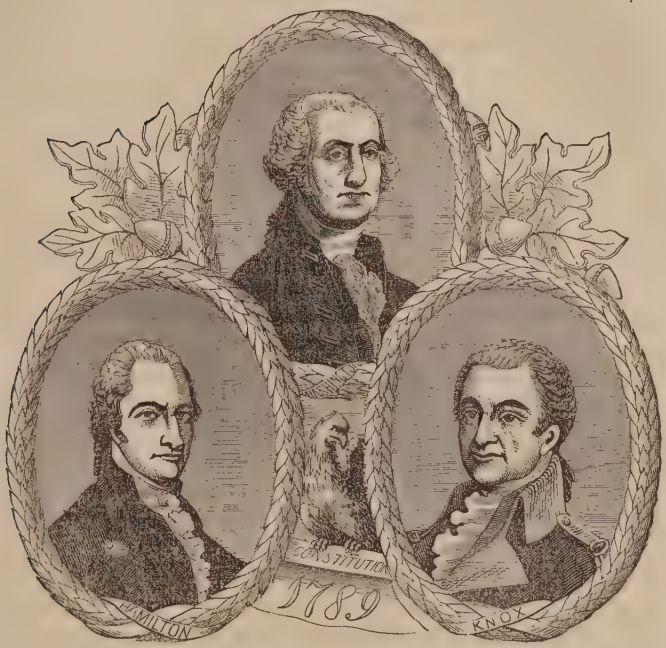
‡ "At noon," says Marshall, "the principal officers of the army assembled at Francis's tavern, soon after which their beloved commander entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed. Filling a glass, he turned to them and said, 'With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former

a deeply affecting scene. He then repaired to Annapolis, where Congress was in session, and on the twenty-third of December resigned into their hands the commission he had received from that body more than eight years before, appointing him Commander-in-chief of the Continental armies. In all the towns and villages through which he passed, public and private demonstrations of joy and gratitude met him on every side; and Congress resolved that the resignation of his commission should be in a public audience. A large concourse of distinguished persons were present, and at the close of a brief address,* he stepped forward and handed his commission to the President (General Mifflin), who made an affectionate reply. He then "hastened with ineffable delight" (to use his own words) to his seat at Mount Vernon, resolved there to pass the remainder of his days amid the pure and quiet pleasures of his domestic circle, enhanced a thousand-fold by the consideration that his dear country was free and independent, and had taken a place among the nations of the earth.

ones have been glorious and honorable.' Having drunk, he added, 'I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand.' General Knox, being nearest, turned to him. Washington, incapable of utterance, grasped his hand and embraced him. In the same affectionate manner he took leave of each succeeding officer. The tear of manly sensibility was in every eye, and not a word was articulated to interrupt the dignified silence, and the tenderness of the scene. Leaving the room, he passed through the corps of light-infantry, and walked to Whitehall, where a barge waited to convey him to Paulus's Hook. The whole company followed in mute and solemn procession, with dejected countenances, testifying feelings of delicious melancholy, which no language can describe. Having entered the barge, he turned to the company, and waving his hat, bade them a silent adieu. They paid him the same affectionate compliment; and, after the barge had left them, returned in the same solemn manner to the place where they had assembled."—*Marshall's Life of Washington.*

* Washington closed his address with the following words:—"I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, into His holy keeping. Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all employment of public life."

Washington's Head-quarters at Newburgh.



George Washington—Alexander Hamilton—Henry Knox.

CHAPTER XIII.

OUR story of the War of American Independence is ended. We have traced it from its first inception, during its progress along its wondrous pathway of suffering and hope, to its goal of Political Freedom for more than three millions of people. It now remains for us to record, in brief, the events which marked the erection of that mighty bulwark of defence for the Freedom thus dearly purchased—THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

At the close of the War, Congress, as the representative of the

people, was burdened with a foreign debt of eight millions of dollars; and a domestic debt of about thirty millions, due to the army and to other American citizens. Congress, according to the terms of the Articles of Confederation, possessed no power to liquidate debts incurred during the war; it had the privilege only of recommending to the several States the payment thereof. This recommendation was respectfully listened to, but tardily complied with,* and Congress had no binding power to compel them to obey its mandates. In fact, the people had lost nearly all regard for the authority of Congress, and its members urged in vain the State Assemblies to agree to a common duty on imports and exports, and to such general regulations of trade as might afford a basis for a commercial treaty. General indifference prevailed, and in some quarters, an indisposition to pay any taxes whatever, began to be cherished. Conventions were formed; law was trampled under foot;† and alarming symptoms of anarchy filled the minds of the thoughtful with serious apprehensions for the public safety.

The leading minds of the Revolution, in view of these increasing evils, and the glaring defects of the confederation, were turned to the consideration of a plan for a closer union of the States, and for giving more efficiency to the general government. Washington having contemplated a scheme for uniting the Potomac with the Ohio, and thus connect the waters of the East and West, he so far influenced the Legislatures of Virginia and Maryland, as to induce them to send commissioners to Alexandria, to deliberate on the subject.[a] They spent some time at Mount Vernon, and proposed another commission, to establish a general tariff on imports, and to mature other commercial regulations. This convention was accordingly held at Annapolis,[b] when only five States were represented. But able statesmen were there, and, feeling sensible of the great importance of having a thorough revisal of the Articles of Confederation, they issued an address to all the provincial assemblies, urging them to send delegates for the purpose, to meet in convention in May, 1787. In February, Congress passed

[a] March, 1785.

[b] Sept., 1786.

* During fourteen months there were paid into the public treasury only $\$$152,890, and the foreign interest was defrayed by a fresh loan made in Holland.

† In New England the theory prevailed to a great extent, that, having all contributed to defend the national property, they had all an equal right to possession. At length the lawless spirit of a certain class manifested itself in open acts of rebellion. In Exeter, in New Hampshire, a mob made prisoners of the General Assembly of the State. In Massachusetts, an insurrectionary movement was so extensive that four thousand militia were called out to quell it. A daring leader, named Daniel Shay, with eleven hundred followers, marched to attack the arsenal at Worcester, but his forces were soon dispersed, and the rebellion subdued.

resolutions recommending the measure, and the States promptly responded to the call. All were represented except Rhode Island. Washington, who was a delegate from Virginia, was unanimously chosen President of the convention. They entered earnestly upon their duties, but had not proceeded far when they found the Articles of Confederation so exceedingly defective—so entirely inadequate to the wants of the country, that they deviated from the original purpose for which they convened, and instead of trying to amend the code of the old confederation, they went diligently at work to form a new constitution. Edmund Randolph, a distinguished Virginia statesman, submitted a series of resolutions,[a] embodying the plan of a new constitution, in which it was proposed to form a general government, consisting of a legislature, executive, and judiciary; and a revenue, army, and navy, entirely independent of the States. It proposed to give it power to conduct war, peace, and treaties; have the exclusive privilege of coining money, and have the supervision of all national transactions. His plan was generally approved, but there were many ardent patriots, who were ready to do all things for the common weal, that looked upon the proposition as an unjustifiable infringement of State Rights, and therefore violently opposed it.

[a] May 29.

Mr. Patterson, of New Jersey, proposed another plan, enlarging the powers of Congress, but leaving its resources and supplies to be procured through the medium of the State governments. To this proposition, when the vote was taken,[b] six States gave a negative voice.* A committee was then appointed to reduce Mr. Randolph's resolutions into the form of a constitution. The committee reported on the sixth of August, and a long debate ensued.† On the eighth of September, a committee was appointed‡ to "revise the style, and arrange the articles." They reported on the twelfth, but amendments and debates continued until the seventeenth of September, when a final vote was taken, and decided in the affirmative. The constitution was then signed by thirty-nine of the fifty-five members, and immediately submitted to Congress. That body recommended the calling of conventions in the various

[b] June 19.

* It was during the debate upon this proposition, that Doctor Franklin made his remarkable speech on the occasion of his motion for prayers in the Convention. It is a singular fact that after the adoption of his resolution, far greater unanimity prevailed in the Convention. For his speech, see Appendix, Note XIV.

† A very difficult question arose respecting the slaves in the southern States, to whom no vote was allowed. It was justly contended that they formed an essential element in the power and resources of those States. It was finally agreed as a compromise, that three-fifths of them, under the title of "other persons," should be added to the list upon which the number of representative members was to be apportioned.

‡ Consisting of Messrs. Johnson, Hamilton, G. Morris, Madison, and King.

States, to consider it, and it was stipulated that it should go into operation when nine States should signify their approval. In some of the States there was much opposition to it, and it was not until June,[a] 1788, that New Hampshire, the ninth State, ratified it. It then became the fundamental law of the land.*

[a] June 21.

Steps were immediately taken to put the new constitution into operation and organize a government under it. The choice of a Chief Magistrate was the most important consideration, and all the friends of the new constitution looked to Washington as the one whose character, popularity, wisdom, and influence, would unite all parties, and they felt that upon his judgment they could implicitly rely. On the first Wednesday in February, 1789, the first Presidential electors were chosen, and on the first Wednesday in March,[b] they met to vote for President. Washington received the unanimous vote of the college, "and, probably without a dissenting voice in the whole nation, was chosen the first President of the United States." † John Adams was chosen Vice President.

[b] 1789.

The intelligence of his election being communicated to him at Mount Vernon, Washington soon after proceeded to New York,[c] the seat of the general government. His journey thitherward was one continued triumphal march. Addresses and congratulations were presented to him in almost every place through which he passed. "So great were the honors with which he was loaded, that they could scarcely have failed to produce haughtiness in the mind of any ordinary man; but nothing of the kind was ever discovered in this extraordinary personage. On all occasions he behaved to all men with the affability of one citizen to another. He was truly great in deserving the plaudits of his country, but much greater in not being elated with them." ‡

[c] April 16.

On approaching Philadelphia, he was received with distinguished honors. The bridge across the Schuylkill was highly decorated with laurels, and at each end were triumphal arches of evergreen. As he passed the bridge, a civic crown was let down from above upon his head, and at that moment a loud shout arose from nearly twenty thousand people who lined the avenues between the Schuylkill and Philadelphia. At Trenton he was met by a deputation from Congress,[d] and the highest honors were paid to him by the inhabitants.§ At Elizabethtown Point he embarked

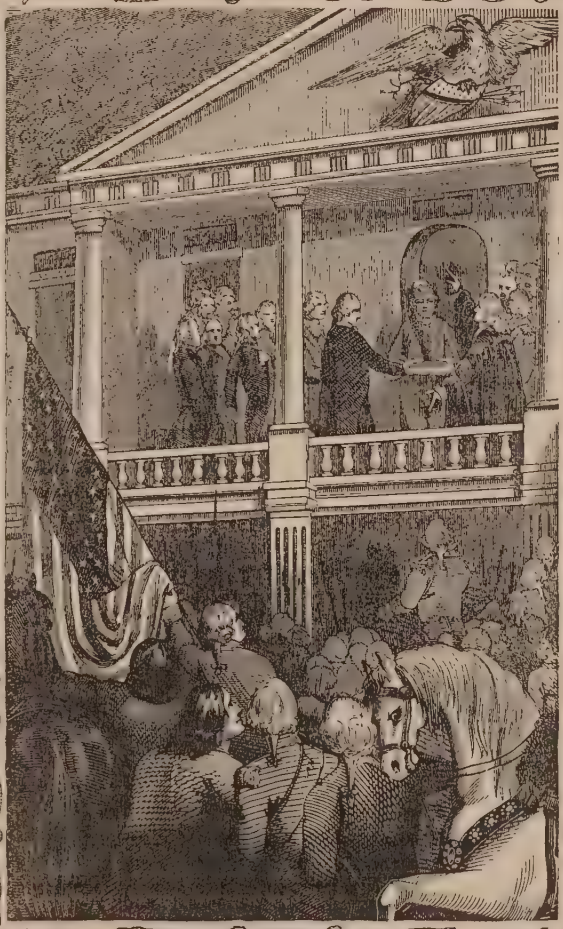
[d] April 23.

* See Appendix, Note xv.

† Sparks, p. 406.

‡ Ramsay, vol. ii., p. 345.

§ On the brow of a hill near Trenton, a triumphal arch was erected under the direction of the ladies of the place. The crown of the arch was decorated with laurels and flowers, and on it was displayed in large characters, "December, 1776"



Inauguration of Washington. P. 367.

in an elegant barge, rowed by thirteen pilots, and as he passed the shipping in the bay, the vessels all hoisted their flags. He was received, on landing, by Governor Clinton and other distinguished persons, and a great concourse of people, and in the evening, the houses of the inhabitants were brilliantly illuminated.

On the thirtieth of April,[a] he took the oath of office. At nine o'clock in the morning, appropriate religious services were held in all the churches in the city, and at twelve, the troops paraded before the President's door. The committees of Congress, heads of departments, foreign ministers, and civil officers of the State, in carriages, following the escort of troops, accompanied him to the Federal Hall, upon the balcony in front of which, Chancellor Livingston administered to him, in the presence of a vast concourse of people, the oath of office, which was in the following words:—"I do solemnly swear that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend, the constitution of the United States." The Chancellor then proclaimed him President of the United States, which was answered by a discharge of thirteen guns, and the shouts of many thousand people. Washington then went to the Senate Chamber, and delivered his Inaugural Speech to both Houses, after which he walked to St. Paul's church, where prayers were read by the Bishop, and thus concluded the momentous ceremonies of the day. This was the crowning act of the War of Independence. By this act, the foundation of a mighty State was laid; the corner-stone of the great temple of Universal Freedom was implanted; the divine truth of man's equality was vindicated, and the dawn of a glorious era broke upon the world.

[a] 1789.

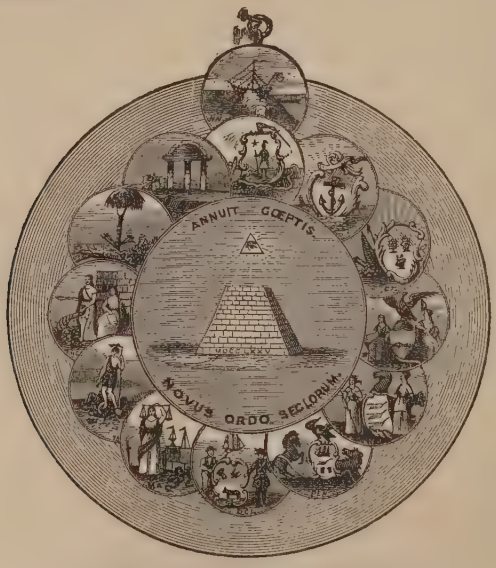
Unlike the revolutions of other times, whose conception and execution were frequently simultaneous, and when physical power, aided only by the inflammatory harangues, or promised benefits, of dema-

(the day of the battle of Trenton). On the sweep of the arch beneath was this inscription:—"*The defender of the mothers will also protect the daughters.*" On one side a row of young girls, dressed in white, with baskets of flowers, were arranged—in a second row stood the young ladies, and behind them the married ladies. The instant he passed the arch, the young girls began to sing the following ode, at the same time strewing flowers in the road:—

"Welcome, mighty chief, once more,
Welcome to this grateful shore;
Now no mercenary foe
Aims again the fatal blow—
Aims at thee the fatal blow.

Virgins fair, and matrons grave,
These thy conquering arm did save;
Build for thee triumphal bowers,
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers—
Strew your Hero's way with flowers"

gogues, supported rebellion, and overturned existing government, our Revolution was the result of long years of patiently-endured oppression—of violated principles, whose unfettered exercise is an essential element of human freedom. For ten years, the Pen was the only implement of rebellion used. It supplicated and it warned the British King, and it incited to action and guided aright, the patriotism of the oppressed. The Pen had already effected the Revolution, when the Sword was called to its aid, as the executor of its will; and during the brilliant achievements of the latter, the leading minds of the country, such as Dr. Franklin, John Adams, James Otis, Samuel Adams, Richard Bland, John Dickenson, John Jay, William Henry Drayton, Daniel Dulaney, Alexander Hamilton, David Ramsay, Thomas Jefferson, Arthur Lee, Jonathan Hyman, Dr. Mahew, Governor Livingston, Thomas Paine, Doct. Rush, James Wilson, Dr. Warren, Josiah Quincy, James Madison, Charles Thompson, William Tennant, and many others, were constantly laboring in the diffusion of correct political knowledge among the people, and animating them to a proper and dignified defence of their liberties. While we weave chaplets of laurel for the heroes who led our patriot armies, let us not forget to entwine a wreath of the olive and myrtle for the brows of those civic heroes who so early and ardently thought and labored, and who perilled so much for their country's welfare.



Great Seal of the United States, and the Seals of the Thirteen Original States.

APPENDIX.

NOTE I.—PAGE 60.

STAMP ACT.*

WHEREAS, by an act made in the last session of Parliament, several duties were granted, continued, and appropriated towards defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America: and whereas it is first necessary, that provision be made for raising a further revenue within your majesty's dominions in America, towards defraying the said expenses; we, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the *Commons of Great Britain*, in parliament assembled, have therefore resolved to give and grant unto your majesty the several rights and duties hereinafter mentioned; and do most humbly beseech your majesty that it may be enacted, And be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the first day of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, there shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid unto his majesty, his heirs, and successors, throughout the colonies and plantations in America, which now are, or hereafter may be, under the dominion of his majesty, his heirs and successors:

1. For every skin of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any declaration, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleading, or any copy thereof, in any court of law within the British colonies and plantations in America, a stamp duty of three pence.

2. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any special bail, and appearance upon such bail in any such court, a stamp duty of two shillings.

3. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which may be engrossed, written, or printed, any

* Received the royal signature, March 27, 1765.

petition, bill, or answer, claim, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleading, in any court of chancery or equity within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of one shilling and six pence.

4. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, *any copy* of any petition, bill, answer, claim, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleading, in any such court, a stamp duty of three pence.

5. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any monition, libel, answer, allegation, inventory, or renunciation, in ecclesiastical matters, in any court of probate, court of the ordinary, or other court exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *one shilling*.

6. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any copy of any will (other than the probate thereof), monition, libel, answer, allegation, inventory, or renunciation, in ecclesiastical matters, in any such court, a stamp duty of *six pence*.

7. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any donation, presentation, collation or institution, of or to any benefice, or any writ or instrument for the like purpose, or any register, entry, testimonial, or certificate of any degree taken in any university, academy, college, or seminary of learning, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *two pounds*.

8. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any monition, libel, claim, answer, allegation, information, letter of request, execution, renunciation, inventory, or other pleading, in any admiralty court within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *one shilling*.

9. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which any copy of any such monition, libel, claim, answer, allegation, information, letter of request, execution, renunciation, inventory, or other pleading, shall be engrossed, written, or printed, a stamp duty of *six pence*.

10. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any appeal, writ of error, writ of dower, *ad quod damnum*, certiorari, statute merchant, statute staple, attestation, or certificate, by any officer, or exemplification of any record or proceeding, in any court whatsoever, within the said colonies and plantations (except appeals, writs of error, certiorari, attestations, certificates, and exemplifications, for, or relating to the removal of any proceedings from before a single justice of the peace), a stamp duty of *ten shillings*.

11. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any writ of covenant for levying fines, writ of entry for suffering a common recovery, or attachment issuing out of, or returnable into any

court within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *five shillings*.

12. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any judgment, decree, or sentence, or dismission, or any record of *nisi prius* or *postea*, in any court within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *four shillings*.

13. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any affidavit, common bail, or appearance, interrogatory, deposition, rule, order or warrant of any court, or any *dedimus potestatem*, *capias subpœna*, summons, compulsory citation, commission, recognisance, or any other writ, process, or mandate, issuing out of, or returnable into, any court, or any office belonging thereto, or any other proceeding therein whatsoever, or any copy thereof, or of any record not herein before charged, within the said colonies and plantations (except warrants relating to criminal matters, and proceedings thereon, or relating thereto), a stamp duty of *one shilling*.

14. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any note or bill of lading, which shall be signed for any kind of goods, wares, or merchandise, to be exported from, or any cocket or clearance granted within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of four pence.

15. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, letters of mart or commission for private ships of war, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *twenty shillings*.

16. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any grant, appointment, or admission of, or to any public beneficial office or employment, for the space of one year, or any lesser time, of or above *twenty pounds per annum* sterling money, in salary, fees, and perquisites, within the said colonies and plantations (except commissions and appointments of officers of the army, navy, ordnance, or militia, of judges, and of justices of the peace), a stamp duty of *ten shillings*.

17. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which any grant, of any liberty, privilege, or franchise, under the seal or sign manual, of any governor, proprietor, or public officer, alone, or in conjunction with any other person or persons, or with any council, or any council and assembly, or any exemplification of the same, shall be engrossed, written, or printed, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *six pounds*.

18. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any license for retailing of spirituous liquors, to be granted to any person who shall take out the same, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *twenty shillings*.

19. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or

piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any license for retailing of wine, to be granted to any person who shall not take out a license for retailing of spirituous liquors, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *four pounds*.

20. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any license for retailing of wine, to be granted to any person who shall take out a license for retailing of spirituous liquors, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *three pounds*.

21. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any probate of will, letters of administration, or of guardianship for any estate above the value of twenty pounds sterling money, within the British colonies and plantations upon the continent of America, the islands belonging thereto, and the Bermuda and Bahama islands, a stamp duty of *five shillings*.

22. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such probate, letters of administration or of guardianship, within all other parts of the British dominions in America, a stamp duty of *ten shillings*.

23. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any bond for securing the payment of any sum of money, not exceeding the sum of ten pounds sterling money, within the British colonies and plantations upon the continent of America, the islands belonging thereto, and the Bermuda and Bahama islands, a stamp duty of *six pence*.

24. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any bond for securing the payment of any sum of money, above ten pounds, and not exceeding twenty pounds sterling money, within such colonies, plantations, and islands, a stamp duty of *one shilling*.

25. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any bond for securing the payment of any sum of money above twenty pounds, and not exceeding forty pounds sterling money, within such colonies, plantations, and islands, a stamp duty of *one shilling and six pence*.

26. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any order or warrant for surveying or setting out any quantity of land, not exceeding one hundred acres, issued by any governor, proprietor, or any public officer, alone, or in conjunction with any other person or persons, or with any council, or any council and assembly, within the British colonies and plantations in America, a stamp duty of *six pence*.

27. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such order or warrant for surveying or setting out any quantity of

land above one hundred and not exceeding two hundred acres, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *one shilling*.

28. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such order or warrant for surveying or setting out any quantity of land above two hundred and not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres, and in proportion for every such order or warrant for surveying or setting out every other three hundred and twenty acres, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *one shilling and six pence*.

29. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any original grant or any deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, not exceeding one hundred acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, within the British colonies and plantations upon the continent of America, the islands belonging thereto, and the Bermuda and Bahama islands (except leases for any term not exceeding the term of twenty-one years), a stamp duty of *one shilling and six pence*.

30. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, above one hundred and not exceeding two hundred acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, within such colonies, plantations, and islands, a stamp duty of *two shillings*.

31. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, above two hundred, and not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, and in proportion for every such grant, deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument, granting, conveying, or assigning, every other three hundred and twenty acres, within such colonies, plantations, and islands, a stamp duty of *two shillings and six pence*.

32. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, not exceeding one hundred acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, within all other parts of the British dominions in America, a stamp duty of *three shillings*.

33. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, above one hundred and not exceeding two hundred acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, within the same parts of the said dominions, a stamp duty of *four shillings*.

34. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, above two hundred and not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, and in proportion for every such grant, deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument, granting, conveying, or assigning every other three hundred and twenty acres, within the same parts of the said dominions, a stamp duty of *five shillings*.

35. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any grant, appointment, or admission, of or to any beneficial office or employment, not herein before charged, above the value of twenty pounds per annum sterling money, in salary, fees, and perquisites, or any exemplification of the same, within the British colonies and plantations upon the continent of America, the islands belonging thereto, and the Bermuda and Bahama islands (except commissions of officers of the army, navy, ordnance, or militia, and of justices of the peace), a stamp duty of *four pounds*.

36. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such grant, appointment, or admission, of or to any such public beneficial office or employment, or any exemplification of the same, within all other parts of the British dominions in America, a stamp duty of *six pounds*.

37. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any indenture, lease, conveyance, contract, stipulation, bill of sale, charter party, protest, articles of apprenticeship or covenant (except for the hire of servants not apprentices, and also except such other matters as herein before charged), within the British colonies and plantations in America, a stamp duty of *two shillings and six pence*.

38. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which any warrant or order for auditing any public accounts, beneficial warrant, order, grant, or certificate, under any public seal, or under the seal or sign manual of any governor, proprietor, or public officer, alone, or in conjunction with any person or persons, or with any council, or any council and assembly, not herein before charged, or any passport or letpass, surrender of office, or policy of assurance, shall be engrossed, written, or printed, within the said colonies and plantations (except warrants or orders for the service of the army, navy, ordnance, or militia, and grants of offices under twenty pounds per annum, in salary, fees, and perquisites) a stamp duty of *five shillings*.

39. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any notarial act, bond, deed, letter of attorney, procuration, mortgage release, or other obligatory instrument, not herein before charged,

within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *two shillings and three pence.*

40. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any register, entry, or enrolment of any grant, deed, or other instrument whatsoever, herein before charged, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *three pence.*

41. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any register, entry, or enrolment of any grant, deed, or other instrument whatsoever, not herein before charged, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *two shillings.*

42. And for and upon every pack of playing cards, and all dice, which shall be sold or used within the said colonies and plantations, the several stamp duties following (that is to say);

43. For every pack of such cards, one shilling.

44. And for every pair of such dice, ten shillings.

45. And for and upon every paper called a *pamphlet,* and upon every newspaper, containing public news, or occurrences, which shall be printed, dispersed, and made public, within any of the said colonies and plantations, and for and upon such advertisements as are hereinafter mentioned, the respective duties following (that is to say);

46. For every such pamphlet and paper, contained in a half sheet, or any lesser piece of paper, which shall be so printed, a stamp duty of one half-penny for every printed copy thereof.

47. For every such pamphlet and paper (being larger than half a sheet, and not exceeding one whole sheet), which shall be printed, a stamp duty of one penny for every printed copy thereof.

48. For every pamphlet and paper, being larger than one whole sheet, and not exceeding six sheets in octavo, or in a lesser page, or not exceeding twelve sheets in quarto, or twenty sheets in folio, which shall be so printed, a duty after the rate of one shilling for every sheet of any kind of paper which shall be contained in one printed copy thereof.

49. For every advertisement to be contained in any gazette, newspaper, or other paper, or any pamphlet which shall be so printed, a duty of two shillings.

50. For every *almanac,* or calendar, for any one particular year, or for any time less than a year, which shall be written or printed on one side only of any one sheet, skin, or piece of paper, parchment, or vellum, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *two pence.*

51. For every other almanac or calendar, for any one particular year, which shall be written or printed within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of *four pence.*

52. And for every almanac or calendar, written or printed in the said colonies and plantations, to serve for several years, duties to the same amount respectively shall be paid for every such year.

53. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or

piece of paper, on which any instrument, proceeding, or other matter or thing aforesaid, shall be engrossed, written, or printed, within the said colonies and plantations, in any other than the English language, a stamp duty of double the amount of the respective duties before charged thereon.

54. And there shall be also paid, in the said colonies and plantations, a duty of six pence for every twenty shillings, in any sum not exceeding fifty pounds sterling money, which shall be given, paid, contracted, or agreed for, with or in relation to any clerk or apprentice, which shall be put or placed to or with any master or mistress, to learn any profession, trade, or employment. II. And also a duty of one shilling for every twenty shillings, in any sum exceeding fifty pounds, which shall be given, paid, contracted, or agreed for, with, or in relation to, any such clerk or apprentice.

55. Finally, the produce of all the aforementioned duties shall be paid into his majesty's treasury; and there held in reserve, to be used from time to time by the parliament, for the purpose of defraying the expenses necessary for the defence, protection, and security of the said colonies and plantations.

NOTE II.—PAGE 66.

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.*

The members of this congress, sincerely devoted, with the warmest sentiments of affection and duty to his majesty's person and government, inviolably attached to the present happy establishment of the Protestant succession, and with minds deeply impressed by a sense of the present and impending misfortunes of the British colonies on this continent; having considered as maturely as time would permit, the circumstances of said colonies, esteem it our indispensable duty to make the following declarations, of our humble opinions, respecting the most essential rights and liberties of the colonists, and of the grievances under which they labor, by reason of several late acts of parliament.

1st. That his majesty's subjects in these colonies owe the same allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, that is owing from his subjects born within the realm, and all due subordination to that august body, the parliament of Great Britain.

2d. That his majesty's liege subjects in these colonies are entitled to all the inherent rights and privileges of his natural born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain.

3d. That it is inseparably essential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted rights of Englishmen, that no taxes should be imposed on them, but with their own consent, given personally, or by their representatives.

4th. That the people of these colonies are not, and from their

* Adopted October 19, 1765.

local circumstances, cannot be represented in the house of commons in Great Britain.

5th. That the only representatives of the people of these colonies, are persons chosen therein, by themselves : and that no taxes ever have been, or can be constitutionally imposed on them, but by their respective legislatures.

6th. That all supplies to the crown, being free gifts of the people, it is unreasonable and inconsistent with the principles and spirit of the British constitution, for the people of Great Britain to grant to his majesty the property of the colonists.

7th. That trial by jury is the inherent and invaluable right of every British subject in these colonies.

8th. That the late act of parliament entitled, an act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, &c., by imposing taxes on the inhabitants of these colonies, and the said act, and several other acts, by extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty beyond its ancient limits, have a manifest tendency to subvert the rights and liberties of the colonists.

9th. That the duties imposed by several late acts of parliament, from the peculiar circumstances of these colonies, will be extremely burdensome and grievous, and from the scarcity of specie, the payment of them absolutely impracticable.

10th. That as the profits of the trade of these colonies ultimately centre in Great Britain, to pay for the manufactures which they are obliged to take from thence, they eventually contribute very largely to all supplies granted there to the crown.

11th. That the restrictions imposed by several late acts of parliament, on the trade of these colonies, will render them unable to purchase the manufactures of Great Britain.

12th. That the increase, prosperity, and happiness of these colonies, depend on the full and free enjoyment of their rights and liberties, and an intercourse, with Great Britain, mutually affectionate and advantageous.

13th. That it is the right of the British subjects in these colonies, to petition the king or either house of parliament.

Lastly. That it is the indispensable duty of these colonies to the best of sovereigns, to the mother country, and to themselves, to endeavor, by a loyal and dutiful address to his majesty, and humble application to both houses of parliament, to procure the repeal of the act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, of all clauses of any other acts of parliament, whereby the jurisdiction of the admiralty is extended as aforesaid, and of the other late acts for the restriction of the American commerce.

PETITION TO THE KING.*

To the King's most excellent majesty.

The petition of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the government of the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, upon Delaware, and province of Maryland,

Most humbly showeth,

That the inhabitants of these colonies, unanimously devoted with the warmest sentiments of duty and affection to your sacred person and government, and inviolably attached to the present happy establishment of the Protestant succession in your illustrious house, and deeply sensible of your royal attention to their prosperity and happiness, humbly beg leave to approach the throne, by representing to your majesty, that these colonies were originally planted by subjects of the British crown, who, animated with the spirit of liberty, encouraged by your majesty's royal predecessors, and confiding in the public faith for the enjoyment of all the rights and liberties essential to freedom, emigrated from their native country to this continent, and, by their successful perseverance, in the midst of innumerable dangers and difficulties, together with a profusion of their blood and treasure, have happily added these vast and extensive dominions to the Empire of Great Britain.

That, for the enjoyment of these rights and liberties, several governments were early formed in the said colonies, with full power of legislation, agreeably to the principles of the English constitution ;—that, under these governments, these liberties, thus vested in their ancestors, and transmitted to their posterity, have been exercised and enjoyed, and by the inestimable blessings thereof, under the favor of Almighty God, the inhospitable deserts of America have been converted into flourishing countries ; science, humanity, and the knowledge of divine truths diffused through remote regions of ignorance, infidelity, and barbarism ; the number of British subjects wonderfully increased, and the wealth and power of Great Britain proportionably augmented.

That, by means of these settlements and the unparalleled success of your majesty's arms, a foundation is now laid for rendering the British empire the most extensive and powerful of any recorded in history ; our connexion with this empire we esteem our greatest happiness and security, and humbly conceive it may now be so established by your royal wisdom, as to endure to the latest period of time ; this, with the most humble submission to your majesty, we apprehend will be most effectually accomplished by fixing the pillars thereof on liberty and justice, and securing the inherent rights and

* Adopted October 22, 1765.

liberties of your subjects here, upon the principles of the English constitution. To this constitution, these two principles are essential; the rights of your faithful subjects freely to grant to your majesty such aids as are required for the support of your government over them, and other public exigencies; and trials by their peers. By the one they are secured from unreasonable impositions, and by the other from the arbitrary decisions of the executive power. The continuation of these liberties to the inhabitants of America, we ardently implore, as absolutely necessary to unite the several parts of your wide-extended dominions, in that harmony so essential to the preservation and happiness of the whole. Protected in these liberties, the emoluments Great Britain receives from us, however great at present, are inconsiderable, compared with those she has the fairest prospect of acquiring. By this protection, she will for ever secure to herself the advantages of conveying to all Europe, the merchandize which America furnishes, and for supplying, through the same channel, whatsoever is wanted from thence. Here opens a boundless source of wealth and naval strength. Yet these immense advantages, by the abridgment of those invaluable rights and liberties, by which our growth has been nourished, are in danger of being for ever lost, and our subordinate legislatures in effect rendered useless by the late acts of parliament imposing duties and taxes on these colonies, and extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty here, beyond its ancient limits; statutes by which your majesty's commons in Britain undertake absolutely to dispose of the property of their fellow-subjects in America without their consent, and for the enforcing whereof, they are subjected to the determination of a single judge, in a court unrestrained by the wise rules of the common law, the birthright of Englishmen, and the safeguard of their persons and properties.

The invaluable rights of taxing ourselves and trial by our peers, of which we implore your majesty's protection, are not, we most humbly conceive, unconstitutional, but confirmed by the Great Charter of English liberties. On the first of these rights the honorable house of commons found their practice of originating money, a right enjoyed by the kingdom of Ireland, by the clergy of England, until relinquished by themselves; a right, in fine, which all other your majesty's English subjects, both within and without the realm, have hitherto enjoyed.

With hearts, therefore, impressed with the most indelible characters of gratitude to your majesty, and to the memory of the kings of your illustrious house, whose reigns have been signally distinguished by their auspicious influence on the prosperity of the British dominions; and convinced by the most affecting proofs of your majesty's paternal love to all your people, however distant, and your unceasing and benevolent desires to promote their happiness; we most humbly beseech your majesty that you will be graciously pleased to take into your royal consideration the distresses of your faithful subjects on this continent, and to lay the same before your majesty's parliament,

and to afford them such relief as, in your royal wisdom, their unhappy circumstances shall be judged to require.

And your petitioners will pray, &c.

MEMORIALS TO PARLIAMENT.*

To the right honorable the Lords spiritual and temporal of Great Britain in parliament assembled :

The memorial of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the government of the counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex, upon Delaware, and province of Maryland, in America,

Most humbly showeth,

That his majesty's liege subjects in his American colonies, though they acknowledge a due subordination to that august body the British parliament, are entitled, in the opinion of your memorialists, to all the inherent rights and liberties of the natives of Great Britain, and have, ever since the settlement of the said colonies, exercised those rights and liberties, as far as their local circumstances would permit.

That your memorialists humbly conceive one of the most essential rights of these colonists, which they have ever till lately uninterruptedly enjoyed, to be trial by jury.

That your memorialists also humbly conceive another of these essential rights, to be the exemption from all taxes, but such as are imposed on the people by the several legislatures in these colonies, which rights they have also till of late enjoyed. But your memorialists humbly beg leave to represent to your lordships, that the act granting certain stamp duties in the British colonies in America, &c., fills his majesty's American subjects with the deepest concern, as it tends to deprive them of the two fundamental and invaluable rights and liberties above mentioned ; and that several other late acts of parliament, which extend the jurisdiction and power of courts of admiralty in the plantations beyond their limits in Great Britain, thereby make an unnecessary, unhappy distinction, as to the modes of trial between us and our fellow-subjects there, by whom we never have been excelled in duty and loyalty to our sovereign.

That from the natural connexion between Great Britain and America, the perpetual continuance of which your memorialists most ardently desire, they conceive that nothing can conduce more to the interest of both, than the colonists' free enjoyment of their rights and liberties, and an affectionate intercourse between Great Britain and them. But your memorialists (not waiving their claim to these

* Adopted October 23, 1765.

rights, of which, with the most becoming veneration and deference to the wisdom and justice of your lordships, they apprehend, they cannot reasonably be deprived), humbly represent, that, from the peculiar circumstances of these colonies, the duties imposed by the aforesaid act, and several other late acts of parliament, are extremely grievous and burdensome ; and the payment of the several duties will very soon, for want of specie, become absolutely impracticable ; and that the restrictions on trade by the said acts, will not only distress the colonies, but must be extremely detrimental to the trade and true interest of Great Britain.

Your memorialists, therefore, impressed with a just sense of the unfortunate circumstances of the colonies, the impending destructive consequences which must necessarily ensue from the execution of these acts, and animated with the warmest sentiments of filial affection for their mother country, most earnestly and humbly entreat your lordships will be pleased to hear their council in support of this memorial, and take the premises into your most serious consideration, and that your lordships will also be thereupon pleased to pursue such measures for restoring the just rights and liberties of the colonies, and preserving them for ever inviolate ; for redressing their present, and preventing future grievances, thereby promoting the united interests of Great Britain and America, as to your lordships, in your great wisdom, shall seem most conducive and effectual to that important end.

And your memorialists will pray, &c.

To the honorable the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses, of Great Britain, in parliament assembled,

The petition of his majesty's dutiful, loyal subjects, the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the government of the counties of Newcastle, Kent and Sussex, upon Delaware, and province of Maryland, in America.

Most humbly showeth,

That the several late acts of parliament, imposing divers duties and taxes on the colonies, and laying the trade and commerce under very burdensome restrictions ; but above all, the act for granting and applying certain stamp duties in America, have filled them with the deepest concern and surprise, and they humbly conceive the execution of them will be attended with consequences very injurious to the commercial interests of Great Britain and her colonies, and must terminate in the eventual ruin of the latter. Your petitioners, therefore, most ardently implore the attention of the honorable house to the united and dutiful representation of their circumstances, and to their earnest supplications for relief from their regulations, that have already involved this continent in anxiety, confusion, and dis-

tress. We most sincerely recognise our allegiance to the crown, and acknowledge all due subordination to the parliament of Great Britain, and shall always retain the most grateful sense of their assistance and approbation ; it is from and under the English constitution we derive all our civil and religious rights and liberties ; we glory in being subjects of the best of kings, having been born under the most perfect form of government. But it is with the most ineffable and humiliating sorrow that we find ourselves of late deprived of the right of granting our own property for his majesty's service, to which our lives and fortunes are entirely devoted, and to which, on his royal requisitions, we have been ready to contribute to the utmost of our abilities.

We have also the misfortune to find that all the penalties and forfeitures mentioned in the stamp act, and divers late acts of trade extending to the plantations, are, at the election of the informers, recoverable in any court of admiralty in America. This, as the newly erected court of admiralty has a general jurisdiction over all British America, renders his majesty's subjects in these colonies liable to be carried, at an immense expense, from one end of the continent to the other. It always gives us great pain to see a manifest distinction made therein between the subjects of our mother country and the colonies, in that the like penalties and forfeitures recoverable there only in his majesty's courts of record, are made cognisable here by a court of admiralty. By this means we seem to be, in effect, unhappily deprived of two privileges essential to freedom, and which all Englishmen have ever considered as their best birthrights—that of being free from all taxes but such as they have consented to in person, or by their representatives, and of trial by their peers.

Your petitioners further show, that the remote situation and other circumstances of the colonies, render it impracticable that they should be represented but in their respective subordinate legislatures ; and they humbly conceive that the parliament adhering strictly to the principles of the constitution, have never hitherto taxed any but those who were therein actually represented ; for this reason, we humbly apprehend, they never have taxed Ireland, nor any other of the subjects without the realm. But were it ever so clear, that the colonies might in law be reasonably represented in the honorable house of commons, yet we conceive that very good reasons, from inconvenience, from the principles of true policy, and from the spirit of the British constitution, may be adduced to show, that it would be for the real interest of Great Britain, as well as her colonies, that the late regulations should be rescinded, and the several acts of parliament imposing duties and taxes on the colonies, and extending the jurisdiction of the courts of admiralty here, beyond their ancient limits, should be repealed.

We shall not attempt a minute detail of all the reasons which the wisdom of the honorable house may suggest, on this occasion, but would humbly submit the following particulars to their consideration :

That money is already very scarce in these colonies, and is still decreasing by the necessary exportation of specie from the continent for the discharging of our debts to British merchants ; that an immensely heavy debt is yet due from the colonists for British manufactures, and that they are still heavily burdened with taxes to discharge the arrearages due for aids granted by them in the late war ; that the balance of trade will ever be much against the colonies, and in favor of Great Britain, whilst we consume her manufactures ; the demand of which must ever increase in proportion to the number of inhabitants settled here, with the means of purchasing them. We, therefore, humbly conceive it to be the interest of Great Britain to increase rather than diminish those means, as the profit of all the trade of the colonies ultimately centres there to pay for her manufactures, as we are not allowed to purchase elsewhere, and by the consumption of which at the advanced prices the British taxes oblige the makers and venders to set on them, we eventually contribute very largely to the revenues of the crown.

That, from the nature of American business, the multiplicity of suits and papers used in matters of small value, in a country where freeholds are so minutely divided, and property so frequently transferred, a stamp duty must be ever very burdensome and unequal.

That it is extremely improbable that the honorable house of commons should at all times be thoroughly acquainted with our condition, and all facts requisite to a just and equal taxation of the colonies.

It is also humbly submitted whether there be not a material distinction, in reason and sound policy, at least, between the necessary exercise of parliamentary jurisdiction in general acts, and the common law, and the regulations of trade and commerce, through the whole empire, and the exercise of that jurisdiction by imposing taxes on the colonies.

That the several subordinate provincial legislatures have been moulded into forms as nearly resembling that of the mother country, as by his majesty's royal predecessors was thought convenient ; and these legislatures seem to have been wisely and graciously established, that the subjects in the colonies might, under the due administration thereof, enjoy the happy fruits of the British government, which in their present circumstances they cannot be so fully and clearly availed of any other way.

Under these forms of government we and our ancestors have been born or settled, and have had our lives, liberties, and properties, protected ; the people here, as everywhere else, retain a great fondness of their old customs and usages, and we trust that his majesty's service, and the interest of the nation, so far from being obstructed, have been vastly promoted by the provincial legislatures.

That we esteem our connexion with and dependence on Great Britain, as one of our greatest blessings, and apprehend the latter will be sufficiently secure, when it is considered that the inhabitants in the colonies have the most unbounded affection for his majesty's person, family, and government, as well as for the mother country,

and that their subordination to the parliament is universally acknowledged.

We, therefore, most humbly entreat that the honorable house would be pleased to hear our counsel in support of this petition, and to take our distressed and deplorable case into their serious consideration, and that the acts and clauses of acts so grievously restraining our trade and commerce, imposing duties and taxes on our property, and extending the jurisdiction of the court of admiralty beyond its ancient limits, may be repealed ; or that the honorable house would otherwise relieve your petitioners, as in your great wisdom and goodness shall seem meet.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

NOTE III.—PAGE 123.

PROPOSITIONS FOR A GENERAL CONGRESS.

Several States claim the honor of having been first in recommending a General Congress of Delegates from the several Colonies. It seems, however, to have been a spontaneous, and almost simultaneous movement in nearly all of the Colonies. On this point, the New York Review for 1839, vol. i., p. 337, has the following article :—

" We have compiled from the American archives (published under the authority of Congress) a summary of the earliest dates in which, in every Colony, the subject of a General Congress was acted upon by any public assembly in the year 1774 :—

	1774.
1. By a town-meeting in Providence, Rhode Island,	May 17.
2. By the committee of a town meeting in Philadelphia,	" 21.
3. By the committee of a town-meeting in New York,	" 23.
4. By the Members of the dissolved House of Burgesses of Virginia, and others at Williamsburg,	" 27.
5. By a county-meeting in Baltimore,	" 31.
6. By a town-meeting in Norwich, Connecticut,	June 6.
7. By a county-meeting in Newark, New Jersey,	" 11.
8. By the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and by a town-meeting in Faneuil Hall, the same day,	" 17.
9. By a county-meeting in Newcastle, Delaware,	" 29.
10. By the committee of correspondence in Portsmouth, New Hampshire,	July 6.
11. By a general province Meeting in Charleston, S. C.,	July 6, 7, 8.
12. By a district-meeting at Wilmington, N. C.,	July 21.

" A comparison of these dates will at once show how strongly was the instinct of union, which, at this period, pervaded the country, and how prompt the Colonies were in adopting that principle of combination which served as the direct antagonist to the policy of the British ministry, designed as it was, by confining its obnoxious measures to one Colony, to diminish the probability of a united resistance. In looking to these dates, it should also be remembered that the Colonial action, in some instances, was independent of that of an earlier date in other Colonies. In Virginia, the recommendation of a Congress was adopted two days before the intelligence was received of a similar measure, several days earlier, both in Philadelphia and in New York."

As an interesting addendum to the above we add the following statement of the several places where Congress held its session from

1774 until the adoption of the Constitution. It is taken from the "American Almanac" for 1834, p. 98 :—

"At Philadelphia, September 5, 1774,
" May 10, 1775,
Baltimore,* December 20, 1776,
Philadelphia, March 4, 1777,
Lancaster,† September, 27, 1777,
York,‡ " 30, "
At Philadelphia, July 2, 1778,
Princeton, June 30, 1783,
Annapolis, November 26, 1783.
Trenton, November 1, 1784,
New York, January 11, 1785,

where it continued to meet until the adoption of the Constitution From 1781 to 1788, Congress met annually on the first Monday in November."

NOTE IV.—PAGE 131.

NAMES OF MEMBERS

COMPOSING THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.§

New Hampshire.—John Sullivan, Nathaniel Folsom.

Massachusetts.—Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine.

Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.—Stephen Hopkins, Samuel Ward.

Connecticut.—Eliphalet Dyer, Roger Sherman, Silas Deane.

New York.—James Duane, Isaac Lord, Henry Wisner, John Alsop, John Jay, William Floyd, Philip Livingston.

New Jersey.—James Kinsey, Stephen Crane, William Livingston, Richard Smith, John De Hart.

Pennsylvania.—Joseph Galloway, John Morton, Charles Humphreys, Thomas Mifflin, Samuel Rhodes, Edward Biddle, George Ross, John Dickenson.

Delaware.—Cæsar Rodney, Thomas McKean, George Read.

Maryland.—Robert Goldsborough, Samuel Chase, Thomas Johnson, Mathew Tilghman, William Paca.

Virginia.—Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton.

North Carolina.—William Hooper, Joseph Hughes, Richard Caswell.

South Carolina.—Henry Middleton, John Rutledge, Thomas Lynch, Christopher Gadsden, Edward Rutledge.

* Congress adjourned to Baltimore, in expectation of an attack upon Philadelphia by Cornwallis, who had chased the Americans across New Jersey to the banks of the Delaware.

† Adjourned to Lancaster when Howe marched upon Philadelphia, after the battle of Brandywine.

‡ Adjourned to York for greater security, where its sessions were held during the winter that the Americans were encamped at Valley Forge.

§ Assembled in Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, September 5, 1774.

NOTE V.—PAGE 134.

ADDRESSES, &c.,

OF THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774,

TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN.*

When a nation, led to greatness by the hand of liberty, and possessed of all the glory that heroism, munificence, and humanity can bestow, descends to the ungrateful task of forging chains for her friends and children, and instead of giving support to freedom, turns advocate for slavery and oppression, there is reason to suspect she has ceased to be virtuous, or been extremely negligent in the appointment of her rulers.

In almost every age, in repeated conflicts, in long and bloody wars, as well civil as foreign, against many and powerful nations, against the open assaults of enemies, and the more dangerous treachery of friends, have the inhabitants of your Island, your great and glorious ancestors, maintained their independence, and transmitted the rights of men, and the blessings of liberty, to you, their posterity.

Be not surprised, therefore, that we, who are descended from the same common ancestors; that we, whose forefathers participated in all the rights, the liberties, and the Constitutions you so justly boast of, and who have carefully conveyed the same fair inheritance to us, guaranteed by the plighted faith of government and the most solemn compacts with British sovereigns, should refuse to surrender them to men, who found their claims on no principles of reason, and who prosecute them with a design, that by having our lives and property in their power, they may, with the greatest facility, enslave you. The cause of America is now the object of universal attention: it has at length become very serious. This unhappy country has not only been oppressed, but abused and misrepresented; and the duty we owe ourselves and posterity, to your interest, and the general welfare of the British empire, leads us to address you on this very important subject. *Know then*, That we consider ourselves, and do insist, that we are and ought to be, as free as our fellow subjects in Britain, and that no power on earth has a right to take our property from us, without our consent. That we claim all the benefits secured to its subjects by the English constitution, and particularly that inestimable one of trial by jury. That we hold it essential to English liberty, that no man be condemned unheard, or punished for supposed offences, without having an opportunity of making his defence. That we think the legislature of Great Britain is not authorized, by the constitution, to establish a religion, fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets, or to erect an arbitrary form of government, in any quarter of the globe. These rights we, as well

* Adopted October 21, 1774.—*Journals of Congress*, vol. i., p. 36.

as you, deem sacred; and yet, sacred as they are, they have, with many others, been repeatedly and flagrantly violated.

Are not the proprietors of the soil of Great Britain, lords of their own property? can it be taken from them without their consent? will they yield it to the arbitrary disposal of any man, or number of men whatever? You know they will not. Why then are the proprietors of the soil in America less lords of their property than you are of yours? or why should they submit it to the disposal of your parliament, or of any other parliament, or council in the world, not of their election? Can the intervention of the sea that divides us, cause disparity in rights, or can any reason be given why English subjects who live three thousand miles from the royal palace, should enjoy less liberty than those who are three hundred miles distant from it?

Reason looks with indignation on such distinctions, and freemen can never perceive their propriety. And yet, however chimerical and unjust such discriminations are, the parliament assert they have a right to bind us, in all cases, without exception, whether we consent or not; that they may take and use our property when and in what manner they please; that we are pensioners on their bounty, for all that we possess, and can hold it no longer than they vouchsafe to permit. Such declarations we consider as heresies in English politics; and which can no more operate to deprive us of our property, than the interdicts of the pope can divest kings of sceptres, which the laws of the land and the voice of the people have placed in their hands.

At the conclusion of the late war—a war rendered glorious by the abilities and integrity of a minister, to whose efforts the British empire owes its safety and its fame; at the conclusion of this war, which was succeeded by an inglorious peace, formed under the auspices of a minister of principles and of a family unfriendly to the Protestant cause, and inimical to liberty: we say, at this period, and under the influence of that man, a plan for enslaving your fellow subjects in America was concerted, and has ever since been pertinaciously carrying into execution.

Prior to this era you were content with drawing from us the wealth produced by our commerce. You constrained our trade in every way that would conduce to your emoluments. You exercised unbounded sovereignty over the sea. You named the ports and nations to which alone our merchandise should be carried, and with whom alone we should trade: and though some of these restrictions were grievous, we nevertheless did not complain; we looked up to you as to our parent state, to which we were bound by the strongest ties, and were happy in being instrumental to your prosperity and your grandeur.

We call upon you yourselves, to witness our loyalty and attachment to the common interest of the whole empire: did we not, in the last war, add all the strength of this vast continent to the force which repelled our common enemy? did we not leave our native shores, and meet disease and death, to promote the success of British

arms in foreign climates? did you not thank us for our zeal, and even reimburse us large sums of money, which you confessed we had advanced beyond our proportion and far beyond our abilities? You did.

To what causes, then, are we to attribute the sudden change of treatment, and that system of slavery which was prepared for us at the restoration of peace?

Before we had recovered from the distresses which ever attend war, an attempt was made to drain this country of all its money, by the oppressive stamp act. Paint, glass, and other commodities, which you would not permit us to purchase of other nations, were taxed; nay, although no wine is made in any country subject to the British state, you prohibited our procuring it of foreigners without paying a tax, imposed by your parliament, on all we imported. These and many other impositions were laid upon us most unjustly and unconstitutionally for the express purpose of raising a revenue. In order to silence complaint it was, indeed, provided, that this revenue should be expended in America, for its protection and defence. These exactions, however, can receive no justification from a pretended necessity of protecting and defending us; they are lavishly squandered on court favorites and ministerial dependants, generally avowed enemies to America, and employing themselves by partial representations to traduce and embroil the colonies. For the necessary support of government here we ever were and ever shall be ready to provide. And whenever the exigencies of the state may require it, we shall, as we have heretofore done, cheerfully contribute our full proportion of men and money. To enforce this unconstitutional and unjust scheme of taxation, every fence that the wisdom of our British ancestors had carefully erected against arbitrary power, has been violently thrown down in America, and the inestimable right of trial by jury taken away in cases that touch both life and property. It was ordained, that whenever offences should be committed in the colonies against particular acts, imposing various duties and restrictions upon trade, the prosecutor might bring his action for penalties in the courts of admiralty; by which means the subject lost the advantage of being tried by an honest uninfluenced jury of the vicinage, and was subjected to the sad necessity of being judged by a single man, a creature of the crown, and according to the course of a law, which exempted the prosecutor of the trouble of proving his accusation, and obliges the defender either to evince his innocence, or suffer. To give this new judiciary the greater importance, and as if with design to protect false accusers, it is further provided, that the judge's certificate of there having been probable causes of seizure and prosecution, shall protect the prosecutors from actions at common law for recovery of damages.

By the course of our laws, offences committed in such of the British dominions, in which courts are established and justice duly and regularly administered, shall be there tried by a jury of the vicinage. There the offenders and the witnesses are known, and the

degree of credibility, to be given to their testimony can be ascertained.

In all these colonies, justice is regularly and impartially administered, and yet, by the construction of some, and the direction of other acts of parliament, offenders are to be taken by force, together with all such persons as may be pointed out as witnesses, and carried to England, there to be tried in a distant land, by a jury of strangers, and subject to all the disadvantages that result from want of friends, want of witnesses, and want of money.

When the design of raising a revenue, from the duties imposed on the importation of tea in America, had in a great measure been rendered abortive, by our ceasing to import that commodity, a scheme was concerted by the ministry with the East India company, and an act passed, enabling and encouraging them to transport and vend it in the colonies. Aware of the danger of giving success to this insidious manœuvre, and of permitting a precedent of taxation thus to be established among us, various methods were adopted to elude the stroke. The people of Boston, then ruled by a governor whom, as well as his predecessor, Sir Francis Bernard, all America considers as her enemy, were exceedingly embarrassed. The ships which had arrived with the tea were, by his management, prevented from returning. The duties would have been paid, the cargoes landed and exposed to sale ; a governor's influence would have procured and protected many purchasers. While the town was suspended by deliberations on this important subject, the tea was destroyed. Even supposing a trespass was thereby committed, and the proprietors of the tea entitled to damages, the courts of law were open, and judges, appointed by the crown, presided in them. The East India company, however, did not think proper to commence any suits, nor did they even demand satisfaction, either from individuals or from the community in general. The ministry, it seems, officially made the case their own, and the great council of the nation descended to intermeddle with a dispute about private property. Divers papers, letters, and other unauthenticated *ex-parte* evidence were laid before them ; neither the persons who destroyed the tea nor the people of Boston, were called upon to answer the complaint. The ministry, incensed by being disappointed in a favorite scheme, were determined to recur from the little arts of finesse, to open force and unmanly violence. The port of Boston was blocked up by a fleet, and an army placed in the town. Their trade was to be suspended, and thousands reduced to the necessity of gaining subsistence from charity, till they should submit to pass under the yoke, and consent to become slaves, by confessing the omnipotence of parliament, and acquiescing in whatever disposition they might think proper to make of their lives and property.

Let justice and humanity cease to be the boast of your nation ! consult your history, examine your records of former transactions ; nay, turn to the annals of the many arbitrary states and kingdoms that surround you, and show us a single instance of men being condemned to suffer for imputed crimes, unheard, unquestioned, and

without even the specious formality of a trial; and that, too, by laws made expressly for the purpose, and which had no existence at the time of the fact committed. If it be difficult to reconcile these proceedings to the genius and temper of your laws and constitution, the task will become more arduous when we call upon our ministerial enemies to justify, not only condemning men untried and by hearsay, but involving the innocent in one common punishment with the guilty, and for the acts of thirty or forty, to bring poverty, distress, and calamity, on thirty thousand souls, and these not your enemies, but your friends, brethren, and fellow subjects.

It would be some consolation to us, if the catalogue of American oppressions ended here. It gives us pain to be reduced to the necessity of reminding you, that under the confidence reposed in the faith of government, pledged in a royal charter from the British sovereign, the forefathers of the present inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, left their former habitations, and established that great, flourishing, and loyal colony. Without incurring or being charged with a forfeiture of their right, without being heard, without being tried, and without justice, by an act of parliament this charter is destroyed, their liberties violated, their constitution and form of government changed; and all this upon no better pretence than because in one of their towns a trespass was committed upon some merchandise, said to belong to one of the companies, and because the ministry were of opinion, that such high political regulations were necessary to due subordination and obedience to these mandates.

Nor are these the only capital grievances under which we labor: we might tell of dissolute, weak, and wicked governors having been set over us; of legislatures being suspended for asserting the rights of British subjects; of needy and ignorant dependants on great men advanced to the seats of justice, and to other places of trust and importance; of hard restrictions on commerce, and a great variety of lesser evils, the recollection of which is almost lost under the pressure and weight of greater and more poignant calamities.

Now mark the progression of the ministerial plan for enslaving us.

Well aware that such hardy attempts to take our property from us, to deprive us of that valuable right of trial by jury, to seize our persons and carry us for trial to Great Britain, to blockade our ports, to destroy our charters, and change our form of government, would occasion, and had already occasioned, great discontent in the colonies, which would produce opposition to these measures, an act was passed to protect, indemnify, and screen from punishment, such as might be guilty even of murder, in endeavoring to carry their oppressive edicts into execution; and by another act the dominion of Canada is to be so extended, modelled, and governed, as that by being disunited from us, detached from our interests, by civil as well as religious prejudices, that by their numbers daily swelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe, and by their devotion to administration, so friendly to their religion, they might become formidable to us, and on occasion, be fit instruments in the hands of power to

reduce the ancient, free Protestant colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves.

This was evidently the object of the act ; and in this view, being extremely dangerous to our liberty and quiet, we cannot forbear complaining of it, as hostile to British America. Superadded to these considerations, we cannot help deploring the unhappy condition to which it has reduced the many English settlers, who, encouraged by the royal proclamation, promising the enjoyment of all their rights, have purchased estates in that country. They are now the subjects of an arbitrary government, deprived of trial by jury, and when imprisoned, cannot claim the benefit of the *habeas corpus* act, that great bulwark and palladium of English liberty ; nor can we suppress our astonishment, that a British parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion, through every part of the world.

This being a true state of facts, let us beseech you to consider to what end they lead.

Admit the ministry, by the powers of Britain, and the aid of our Roman Catholic neighbors, should be able to carry the point of taxation, and reduce us to a state of perfect humiliation and slavery. Such an enterprise would doubtless make some addition to your national debt, which already presses down your liberty, and fills you with pensioners and placemen. We presume, also, that your commerce will be somewhat diminished. However, suppose you should prove victorious, in what condition will you then be ? What advantages or what laurels will you reap from such a conquest ?

May not a ministry with the same armies enslave you ?—it may be said, you will cease to pay them ; but remember the taxes from America, the wealth, and we may add the men, and particularly the Roman Catholics of this vast continent, will then be in the power of your enemies ; nor will you have any reason to expect, that after making slaves of us, many among us should refuse to assist in reducing you to the same abject state.

Do not treat this as chimerical. Know, that in less than half a century, the quit rents reserved for the crown, from the numberless grants of this vast continent, will pour large streams of wealth into the royal coffers ; and if to this be added the power of taxing America at pleasure, the crown will be rendered independent of you for supplies, and will possess more treasure than may be necessary to purchase the remains of liberty in your island. In a word, take care that you do not fall into the pit that is preparing for us.

We believe there is yet much virtue, much justice, and much public spirit in the English nation. To that justice we now appeal. You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. Be assured that these are not facts, but calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness ; we shall ever be ready to contribute all in our power to the welfare of the empire ; we shall consider your enemies as our

enemies, and your interest as our own. But, if you are determined that your ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind—if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, nor the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause, we must tell you, that we will never submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water, for any ministry or nation in the world.

Place us in the same situation that we were at the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored.

But, lest the same supineness, and the same inattention to our common interest, which you have for several years shown, should continue, we think it prudent to anticipate the consequences.

By the destruction of the trade of Boston, the ministry have endeavored to induce submission to their measures. The like fate may befall us all. We will endeavor, therefore, to live without trade, and recur, for subsistence, to the fertility and bounty of our native soil, which will afford us all the necessaries, and some of the conveniences, of life. We have suspended our importation from Great Britain and Ireland; and, in less than a year's time, unless our grievances should be redressed, shall discontinue our exports to those kingdoms and to the West Indies.

It is with the utmost regret, however, that we find ourselves compelled, by the overruling principles of self-preservation, to adopt measures detrimental in their consequences to numbers of our fellow subjects in Great Britain and Ireland. But we hope that the magnanimity and justice of the British nation will furnish a parliament of such wisdom, independence, and public spirit, as may save the violated rights of the whole empire from the devices of wicked ministers and evil counsellors, whether in or out of office; and thereby restore that harmony, friendship, and fraternal affection, between all the inhabitants of his majesty's kingdoms and territories, so ardently wished for by every true and honest American.

The congress then resumed the consideration of the memorial to the inhabitants of the British colonies, and the same, being debated by paragraphs and amended, was approved, and is as follows :—

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE SEVERAL ANGLO-AMERICAN COLONIES.*

We, the delegates appointed, by the good people of these colonies, to meet at Philadelphia, in September last, for the purposes mentioned by our respective constituents, have, in pursuance of the trust reposed in us, assembled, and taken into our most serious consideration, the important matters recommended to the congress. Our resolutions thereupon will be herewith communicated to you. But, as the situation of public affairs grows daily more and more alarming; and as it may be more satisfactory to you to be informed by

* Adopted October 21, 1774.—Journal of Congress, Vol. 1, p. 43.

us in a collective body, than in any other manner, of those sentiments that have been approved upon a full and free discussion, by the representatives of so great a part of America, we esteem ourselves obliged to add this address to these resolutions.

In every case of opposition by a people to their rulers, or of one state to another, duty to Almighty God, the creator of all, requires that a true and impartial judgment be formed of the measures leading to such opposition; and of the causes by which it has been provoked, or can in any degree be justified, that neither affection on one hand, nor resentment on the other, being permitted to give a wrong bias to reason, it may be enabled to take a dispassionate view of all circumstances, and to settle the public conduct on the solid foundations of wisdom and justice.

From councils thus tempered arise the surest hopes of the divine favor, the firmest encouragement of the parties engaged, and the strongest recommendation of their cause to the rest of mankind.

With minds deeply impressed by a sense of these truths, we have diligently, deliberately, and calmly inquired into and considered those exertions, both of the legislative and executive power of Great Britain, which have excited so much uneasiness in America, and have with equal fidelity and attention considered the conduct of the colonies. Upon the whole, we find ourselves reduced to the disagreeable alternative of being silent and betraying the innocent, or of speaking out and censuring those we wish to revere. In making our choice of these distressing difficulties, we prefer the course dictated by honesty and a regard for the welfare of our country.

Soon after the conclusion of the late war there commenced a memorable change in the treatment of these colonies. By a statute made in the fourth year of the present reign, a time of profound peace, alleging "the expediency of new provisions and regulations for extending the commerce between Great Britain and his majesty's dominions in America, and the necessity of raising a revenue in the said dominions, for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the same," the commons of Great Britain undertook to give and grant to his majesty many rates and duties to be paid in these colonies. To enforce the observance of this act, it prescribes a great number of severe penalties and forfeitures; and in two sections makes a remarkable distinction between the subjects in Great Britain and those in America. By the one, the penalties and forfeitures incurred there are to be recovered in any of the king's courts of record at Westminster, or in the court of exchequer in Scotland; and by the other, the penalties and forfeitures incurred here are to be recovered in any court of record, or in any court of admiralty or vice-admiralty, at the election of the informer or prosecutor.

The inhabitants of these colonies, confiding in the justice of Great Britain, were scarcely allowed sufficient time to receive and consider this act, before another, well known by the name of the stamp act, and passed in the fifth year of this reign, engrossed their whole attention. By this statute the British parliament exercised in the most explicit manner a power of taxing us, and extending the jurisdiction

of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty in the colonies to matters arising within the body of a county, and directed the numerous penalties and forfeitures thereby inflicted to be recovered in the said courts.

In the same year a tax was imposed upon us by an act establishing several new fees in the customs. In the next year the stamp act was repealed, not because it was founded in an erroneous principle, but, as the repealing act recites, because "the continuance thereof would be attended with many inconveniences, and might be productive of consequences greatly detrimental to the commercial interest of Great Britain."

In the same year, and by a subsequent act, it was declared, "that his majesty in parliament, of right, had power to bind the people of these colonies by statutes in all cases whatsoever." In the same year another act was passed for imposing rates and duties payable in these colonies. In this statute the commons, avoiding the terms of giving and granting, "humbly besought his majesty that it might be enacted, &c." But from a declaration in the preamble, that the rates and duties were "in lieu of" several others granted by the statute first before mentioned for raising a revenue, and from some other expressions, it appears that these duties were intended for that purpose.

In the next year (1767) an act was made "to enable his majesty to put the customs and other duties in America under the management of commissioners," &c., and the king thereupon erected the present expensive board of commissioners, for the express purpose of carrying into execution the several acts relating to the revenue and trade in America.

After the repeal of the stamp act, having again resigned ourselves to our ancient unsuspicious affections for the parent state, and anxious to avoid any controversy with her, in hopes of a favorable alteration in sentiments and measures towards us, we did not press our objections against the above mentioned statutes made subsequent to that repeal.

Administration attributing to trifling causes, a conduct that really proceeded from generous motives, were encouraged in the same year (1767) to make a bolder experiment on the patience of America.

By a statute commonly called the glass, paper, and tea act, made fifteen months after the repeal of the stamp act, the commons of Great Britain resumed their former language, and again undertook to "give and grant rates and duties to be paid in these colonies," for the express purpose of "raising a revenue to defray the charges of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and defending the king's dominions," on this continent. The penalties and forfeitures incurred under this statute are to be recovered in the same manner with those mentioned in the foregoing acts.

To this statute, so naturally tending to disturb the tranquillity then universal throughout the colonies, parliament in the same session added another no less extraordinary.

Ever since the making the present peace a standing army has been kept in these colonies. From respect for the mother country the innovation was not only tolerated, but the provincial legislatures generally made provision for supplying the troops.

The assembly of the province of New York having passed an act of this kind, but differing in some articles from the directions of the act of parliament made in the fifth year of this reign, the house of representatives in that colony was prohibited by a statute made in the last session mentioned from making any bill, order, resolution, or vote, except for adjourning or choosing a speaker, until provision should be made by the said assembly for furnishing the troops within that province, not only with all such necessaries as were required by the statute, which they were charged with disobeying, but also with those required by two other subsequent statutes, which were declared to be in force until the twenty-fourth day of March, 1769.

These statutes of the year 1767, revived the apprehensions and discontents that had entirely subsided on the repeal of the stamp act; and, amidst the just fears and jealousies thereby occasioned, a statute was made in the next year (1768) to establish courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty on a new model, expressly for the end of more effectually recovering of the penalties and forfeitures inflicted by acts of parliament framed for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, &c. The immediate tendency of these statutes is to subvert the right of having a share in legislation by rendering assemblies useless; the right of property, by taking the money of the colonists without their consent; the right of trial by jury, by substituting in their places trials in admiralty and vice-admiralty courts, where single judges preside, holding their commissions during pleasure, and unduly to influence the courts of common law by rendering the judges thereof totally dependent on the crown for their salaries.

The statutes, not to mention many others exceedingly exceptionable compared one with another, will be found not only to form a regular system in which every part has great force, but also a pertinacious adherence to that system for subjugating these colonies, that are not, and from local circumstances cannot, be represented in the house of commons, to the uncontrollable and unlimited power of parliament, in violation of their undoubted rights and liberties, in contempt of their humble and repeated supplications.

This conduct must appear equally astonishing and unjustifiable when it is considered how unprovoked it has been by any behavior of these colonies. From their first settlement their bitterest enemies never fixed on any of them any charge of disloyalty to their sovereign or disaffection to their mother country. In the wars she has carried on they have exerted themselves, whenever required, in giving her assistance; and have rendered her services which she has publicly acknowledged to be extremely important. Their fidelity, duty, and usefulness during the last war, were frequently and affectionately confessed by his late majesty and the present king.

The reproaches of those who are most unfriendly to the freedom

of America are principally levelled against the province of Massachusetts Bay, but with what little reason will appear by the following declarations of a person, the truth of whose evidence in their favor will not be questioned. Governor Bernard thus addresses the two houses of assembly in his speech on the 24th of April, 1762, "The unanimity and despatch with which you have complied with the requisitions of his majesty require my particular acknowledgment, and it gives me additional pleasure to observe that you have therein acted under no other influence than a due sense of your duty, both as members of a general empire and as the body of a particular province."

In another speech, on the 27th of May in the same year, he says, "Whatever shall be the event of the war, it must be no small satisfaction to us that this province hath contributed its full share to the support of it. Everything that hath been required of it hath been complied with; and the execution of the powers committed to me for raising the provincial troops hath been as full and complete as the grant of them. Never before were regiments so easily levied, so well composed, and so early in the field as they have been this year: the common people seem to be animated with the spirit of the general court, and to vie with them in their readiness to serve the king."

Such was the conduct of the people of the Massachusetts Bay during the last war. As to their behavior before that period it ought not to have been forgot in Great Britain, that not only on every occasion they had constantly and cheerfully complied with the frequent royal requisitions, but that chiefly by their vigorous efforts Nova Scotia was subdued in 1710, and Louisbourg in 1745.

Foreign quarrels being ended, and the domestic disturbances that quickly succeeded on account of the stamp act being quieted by its repeal, the assembly of Massachusetts Bay transmitted an humble address of thanks to the king and divers noblemen, and soon after passed a bill for granting compensation to the sufferers in the disorder occasioned by that act.

These circumstances and the following extracts from Governor Bernard's letters, in 1768, to the Earl of Shelburne, secretary of state, clearly show with what grateful tenderness they strove to bury in oblivion the unhappy occasion of the late discords, and with what respectful deference they endeavored to escape other subjects of future controversy. "The house (says the governor), from the time of opening the session to this day, has shown a disposition to avoid all dispute with me; everything having passed with as much good humor as I could desire, except only their continuing to act in addressing the king, remonstrating to the secretary of state, and employing a separate agent. It is the importance of this innovation, without any wilfulness of my own, which induces me to make this remonstrance at a time when I have a fair prospect of having in all other business nothing but good to say of the proceedings of the house."

"They have acted in all things, even in their remonstrance,

with temper and moderation ; they have avoided some subjects of dispute, and have laid a foundation for removing some causes of former altercation."

" I shall make such a prudent and proper use of this letter as I hope will perfectly restore the peace and tranquillity of this province, for which purpose considerable steps have been made by the house of representatives."

The vindication of the province of Massachusetts Bay contained in these letters, will have greater force if it be considered that they were written several months after the fresh alarm given to the colonies by the statutes passed in the preceding year.

In this place it seems proper to take notice of the insinuation of one of those statutes, that the interference of parliament was necessary to provide for " defraying the charges of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and defending the king's dominions in America."

As to the first two articles of expense, every colony had made such provision as by their respective assemblies, the best judges on such occasions, was thought expedient and suitable to their several circumstances ; respecting the last, it is well known to all men, the least acquainted with American affairs, that the colonies were established and generally defended themselves without the least assistance from Great Britain ; and that at the time of her taxing them by the statutes before mentioned, most of them were laboring under very heavy debts contracted in the last war. So far were they from sparing their money when their sovereign constitutionally asked their aids, that during the course of that war parliament repeatedly made them compensations for the expenses of those strenuous efforts which, consulting their zeal rather than their strength, they had cheerfully incurred.

Severe as the acts of parliament before mentioned are, yet the conduct of administration hath been equally injurious and irritating to this devoted country.

Under pretence of governing them, so many new institutions uniformly rigid and dangerous have been introduced, as could only be expected from incensed masters for collecting the tribute or rather the plunder of conquered provinces.

By an order of the king, the authority of the commander-in-chief, and under him of the brigadier-generals, in time of peace, is rendered supreme in all civil governments in America, and thus an uncontrollable military power is vested in officers not known to the constitutions of these colonies.

A large body of troops, and a considerable armament of ships of war, have been sent to assist in taking their money without their consent.

Expensive and oppressive offices have been multiplied, and the acts of corruption industriously practised to divide and destroy.

The judges of the admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are empowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects to be condemned by themselves.

The commissioners of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses without the authority of any civil magistrate, founded on legal information.

Judges of courts of common law have been made entirely dependent on the crown for their commissions and salaries. A court has been established at Rhode Island for the purpose of taking colonists to England to be tried. Humble and reasonable petitions from the representatives of the people have been frequently treated with contempt, and assemblies have been repeatedly and arbitrarily dissolved.

From some few instances it will sufficiently appear on what pretences of justice those dissolutions have been founded.

The tranquillity of the colonies having been again disturbed, as has been mentioned by the statutes of the year 1767, the Earl of Hillsborough, secretary of state, in a letter to governor Bernard, dated April 22, 1768, censures the "presumption" of the house of representatives for "resolving upon a measure of so inflammatory a nature, as that of writing to the other colonies on the subject of their intended representations against some late acts of parliament," then declares that "his majesty considers this step as evidently tending to create unwarrantable combinations, to excite an unjustifiable opposition to the constitutional authority of parliament," and afterwards adds, "It is the king's pleasure, that as soon as the general court is again assembled at the time prescribed by the charter, you should require of the house of representatives, in his majesty's name, to rescind the resolutions which gave birth to the circular letter from the speaker, and to declare their disapprobation of and dissent to that rash and hasty proceeding."

"If the new assembly should refuse to comply with his majesty's reasonable expectation, it is the king's pleasure that you should immediately dissolve them."

This letter being laid before the house, and the resolution not being rescinded, according to order the assembly was dissolved. A letter of a similar nature was sent to other governors to procure resolutions approving the conduct of the representatives of Massachusetts Bay, to be rescinded also; and the houses of representatives in other colonies refusing to comply, assemblies were dissolved.

These mandates spoke a language to which the ears of English subjects had for several generations been strangers. The nature of assemblies implies a power and right of deliberation; but these commands proscribing the exercise of judgment on the propriety of the requisitions made, left to the assemblies only the election between dictated submission and threatened punishment: a punishment, too, founded on no other act than such as is deemed innocent even in slaves, of agreeing in petitions for redress of grievances that equally affect all.

The hostile and unjustifiable invasion of the town of Boston soon followed these events in the same year; though that town, the province in which it is situated and all the colonies, from abhorrence of a contest with their parent state, permitted the execution even of

those statutes against which they were so unanimously complaining, remonstrating, and supplicating.

Administration, determined to subdue a spirit of freedom which English ministers should have rejoiced to cherish, entered into a monopolizing combination with the East India company to send to this continent vast quantities of tea, an article on which a duty was laid by a statute that in a particular manner attacked the liberties of America, and which, therefore, the inhabitants of these colonies had resolved not to import. The cargo sent to South Carolina was stored and not allowed to be sold. Those sent to Philadelphia and New York were not permitted to be landed. That sent to Boston was destroyed, because Governor Hutchinson would not suffer it to be returned.

On the intelligence of these transactions arriving in Great Britain, the public-spirited town last mentioned was singled out for destruction, and it was determined the province it belongs to should partake of its fate. In the last session of parliament, therefore, were passed the acts for shutting up the port of Boston, indemnifying the murderers of the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, and changing their chartered constitution of government. To enforce these acts, that province is again invaded by a fleet and army.

To mention these outrageous proceedings, is sufficient to explain them. For though it is pretended the province of Massachusetts Bay has been particularly disrespectful to Great Britain, yet, in truth, the behavior of the people in other colonies has been an equal "opposition to the power assumed by parliament." No step, however, has been taken against any of the rest. This artful conduct conceals several designs. It is expected that the province of Massachusetts Bay will be irritated into some violent action that may displease the rest of the continent, or that may induce the people of Great Britain to approve the meditated vengeance of an imprudent and exasperated ministry. If the unexampled pacific temper of that province shall disappoint this part of the plan, it is hoped the other colonies will be so far intimidated as to desert their brethren suffering in a common cause, and that thus disunited all may be subdued.

To promote these designs another measure has been pursued. In the session of parliament last mentioned, an act was passed for changing the government of Quebec, by which act the Roman Catholic religion, instead of being tolerated as stipulated by the treaty of peace, is established, and the people there are deprived of a right to an assembly, trials by jury, and the English laws in civil cases are abolished, and instead thereof, the French laws are established, in direct violation of his majesty's promise by his royal proclamation, under the faith of which many English subjects settled in that province; and the limits of that province are extended so as to comprehend those vast regions that lie adjoining to the northerly and westerly boundaries of these colonies.

The authors of this arbitrary arrangement flatter themselves that the inhabitants, deprived of liberty and artfully provoked against those of another religion, will be proper instruments for assisting in

the oppression of such as differ from them in modes of government and faith.

From the detail of facts herein before recited, as well as from authentic intelligence received, it is clear, beyond a doubt, that a resolution is formed and now carrying into execution to extinguish the freedom of these colonies, by subjecting them to a despotic government.

At this unhappy period we have been authorized and directed to meet and consult together, for the welfare of our common country. We accepted the important trust with diffidence, but have endeavored to discharge it with integrity. Though the state of these colonies would certainly justify other measures than we have advised, yet weighty reasons determined us to prefer those which we have adopted. In the first place, it appeared to us a conduct becoming the character these colonies have ever sustained, to perform, even in the midst of the unnatural distresses and immediate dangers which surround them, every act of loyalty, and, therefore, we were induced once more to offer to his majesty the petitions of his faithful and oppressed subjects in America. Secondly, regarding, with the tender affection which we knew to be so universal among our countrymen, the people of the kingdom from which we derive our origin, we could not forbear to regulate our steps by an expectation of receiving full conviction that the colonists are equally dear to them. Between these provinces and that body subsists the social band, which we ardently wish may never be dissolved, and which cannot be dissolved, until their minds shall become indisputably hostile, or their inattention shall permit those who are thus hostile to persist in prosecuting, with the powers of the realm, the destructive measures already operating against the colonists, and in either case shall reduce the latter to such a situation that they shall be compelled to renounce every regard but that of self-preservation. Notwithstanding the violence with which affairs have been impelled, they have not yet reached that fatal point. We do not incline to accelerate their motion, already alarmingly rapid; we have chosen a method of opposition that does not preclude a hearty reconciliation with our fellow citizens on the other side of the Atlantic. We deeply deplore the urgent necessity that presses us to an immediate interruption of commerce that may prove injurious to them. We trust they will acquit us of any unkind intentions towards them, by reflecting that we are driven by the hands of violence into unexperienced and unexpected public convulsions, and that we are contending for freedom, so often contended for by our ancestors.

The people of England will soon have an opportunity of declaring their sentiments concerning our cause. In their piety, generosity, and good sense, we repose high confidence; and cannot, upon a review of past events, be persuaded that they, the defenders of true religion, and the asserters of the rights of mankind, will take part against their affectionate Protestant brethren in the Colonies, in favor of our open and their own secret enemies, whose intrigues, for several years past, have been wholly exercised in sapping the foundations of civil and religious liberty.

Another reason that engaged us to prefer the commercial mode of opposition, arose from an assurance that the mode will prove efficacious, if it be persisted in with fidelity and virtue; and that your conduct will be influenced by these laudable principles, cannot be questioned. Your own salvation, and that of your posterity, now depends upon yourselves. You have already shown that you entertain a proper sense of the blessings you are striving to retain. Against the temporary inconveniencies you may suffer from a stoppage of trade, you will weigh in the opposite balance, the endless miseries you and your descendants must endure, from an established arbitrary power. You will not forget the honor of your country, that must, from your behavior, take its title in the estimation of the world, to glory, or to shame; and you will, with the deepest attention, reflect, that if the peaceable mode of opposition recommended by us, be broken and rendered ineffectual, as your cruel and haughty ministerial enemies, from a contemptuous opinion of your firmness, insolently predict will be the case, you must inevitably be reduced to choose either a more dangerous contest or a final, ruinous, and infamous submission.

Motives thus cogent, arising from the emergency of your unhappy condition, must excite your utmost diligence and zeal to give all possible strength and energy to the pacific measures calculated for your relief: but we think ourselves bound, in duty, to observe to you, that the schemes agitated against these Colonies, have been so conducted as to render it prudent that you should extend your views to mournful events, and be, in all respects, prepared for every contingency. Above all things, we earnestly entreat you, with devotion of spirit, penitence of heart, and amendment of life, to humble yourselves and implore the favor of Almighty God: and we fervently beseech his divine goodness to take you into his gracious protection.

ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC.*

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-SUBJECTS:—

WE, the delegates of the Colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, deputed by the inhabitants of the said Colonies, to represent them in a general Congress, at Philadelphia, in the province of Pennsylvania, to consult together concerning the best methods to obtain redress of our afflicting grievances; having accordingly assembled, and taken into our most serious consideration the state of public affairs on this continent, have thought proper to address your province, as a member therein deeply interested.

When the fortune of war, after a gallant and glorious resistance, had incorporated you with the body of English subjects, we rejoiced

* Adopted Oct. 26, 1774.—*Journals of Congress*, vol. i., p. 35.

in the truly valuable addition, both on our own and your account; expecting, as courage and generosity are naturally united, our brave enemies would become our hearty friends, and that the divine Being would bless to you the dispensations of his overruling providence, by securing to you and your latest posterity, the inestimable advantages of a free English constitution of government, which it is the privilege of all English subjects to enjoy.

These hopes were confirmed by the King's proclamation, issued in the year 1763, plighting the public faith for your full enjoyment of those advantages.

Little did we imagine that any succeeding ministers would so audaciously and cruelly abuse the royal authority, as to withhold from you the fruition of the irrevocable rights to which you were thus justly entitled.

But since we have lived to see the unexpected time when ministers of this flagitious temper, have dared to violate the most sacred compacts and obligations, and as you, educated under another form of government, have artfully been kept from discovering the unspeakable worth of that form you are now undoubtedly entitled to, we esteem it our duty, for the weighty reasons hereinafter mentioned, to explain to you some of its most important branches.

"In every human society," says the celebrated Marquis Beccaria, "there is an effort continually tending to confer on one part the height of power and happiness, and to reduce the other to the extreme of weakness and misery. The intent of good laws is to oppose this effort, and to diffuse their influence universally and equally."

Rulers stimulated by this pernicious "effort," and subjects animated by the just "intent of opposing good laws against it," have occasioned that vast variety of events that fill the histories of so many nations. All these histories demonstrate the truth of this simple position, that to live by the will of one man, or set of men, is the production of misery to all men.

On the solid foundation of this principle, Englishmen reared up the fabric of their constitution with such a strength, as for ages to defy time, tyranny, treachery, internal and foreign wars: and, as an illustrious author* of your nation, hereafter mentioned, observes:— "They gave the people of their Colonies, the form of their own government, and this government carrying prosperity along with it, they have grown great nations in the forests they were sent to inhabit."

In this form, the first grand right, is that of the people having a share in their own government by their representatives chosen by themselves, and, in consequence, of being ruled by laws which they themselves approve, not by the edicts of men over whom they have no control. This is a bulwark surrounding and defending their property, so that no portions of it can legally be taken from them but with their own full and free consent, when they in their judgment

* Montesquieu.

deem it just and necessary to give them for public services, and precisely direct the easiest, cheapest, and most equal methods in which they shall be collected.

The influence of this right extends still further. If money is wanted by rulers who have in any manner oppressed the people, they may retain it until their grievances are redressed, and thus peaceably procure relief without trusting to despised petitions or disturbing the public tranquillity.

The next great right is that of trial by jury. This provides, that neither life, liberty, nor property, can be taken from the possessor until twelve of his unexceptionable countrymen and peers of his vicinage who, from that neighborhood may reasonably be supposed to be acquainted with his character and the characters of the witnesses, upon a fair trial and full inquiry, face to face, in open court, before as many of the people as choose to attend, shall pass their sentence upon oath against him ; a sentence that cannot injure him without injuring their own reputation, and probably their interest also ; as the question may turn on points that in some degree concern the general welfare, and if it does not, their verdict may form a precedent that on a similar trial of their own may militate against themselves.

Another right relates merely to the liberty of the person. If a subject is seized and imprisoned, though by order of government, he may by virtue of this right immediately obtain a writ termed a *habeas corpus* from a judge, whose sworn duty it is to grant it, and thereupon procure any illegal restraint to be quickly inquired into and redressed.

A fourth right, is that of holding lands by the tenure of easy rents, and not by rigorous and oppressive services, frequently forcing the possessors from their families and their business, to perform what ought to be done in all well regulated states by men hired for the purpose.

The last right we shall mention, regards the freedom of the press. The importance of this consists, besides the advancement of truth, science, morality, and arts in general, in its diffusion of liberal sentiments on the administration of government, its ready communication of thoughts between subjects, and its consequential promotion of union among them, whereby oppressive officers are shamed or intimidated into more honorable and just modes of conducting affairs.

These are the invaluable rights that form a considerable part of our mild system of government ; that, sending its equitable energy through all ranks and classes of men, defends the poor from the rich, the weak from the powerful, the industrious from the rapacious, the peaceable from the violent, the tenants from the lords, and all from their superiors.

These are the rights without which a people cannot be free and happy, and under the protecting and encouraging influence of which these colonies have hitherto so amazingly flourished and increased. These are the rights a profligate ministry are now striving by force

of arms to ravish from us, and which we are with one mind resolved never to resign but with our lives.

These are the rights you are entitled to, and ought at this moment in perfection to exercise. And what is offered to you by the late act of parliament in their place? Liberty of conscience in your religion? No. God gave it to you; and the temporal powers with which you have been and are connected firmly stipulated for your enjoyment of it. If laws divine and human could secure it against the despotic caprices of wicked men, it was secured before. Are the French laws in civil cases restored? It seems so. But observe the cautious kindness of the ministers who pretend to be your benefactors. The words of the statute are, "that those laws shall be the rule, until they shall be varied or altered by any ordinances of the governor and council." Is the "certainty and lenity of the criminal law of England and its benefits and advantages," commended in the said statute, and said to have been "sensibly felt by you," secured to you and your descendants? No. They too are subjected to arbitrary "alterations" by the governor and council; and a power is expressly reserved of appointing "such courts of criminal, civil, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as shall be thought proper." Such is the precarious tenure of mere will by which you hold your lives and religion. The crown and its ministers are empowered as far as they could be by parliament to establish even the inquisition itself among you. Have you an assembly composed of worthy men, elected by yourselves, and in whom you can confide, to make laws for you, to watch over your welfare, and to direct in what quantity and in what manner your money shall be taken from you? No. The power of making laws for you is lodged in the governor and council, all of them dependent upon and removable at the pleasure of a minister. Besides, another late statute, made without your consent, has subjected you to the impositions of excise, the horror of all free states, thus wresting your property from you by the most odious of taxes, and laying open to insolent tax-gatherers, houses, the scenes of domestic peace and comfort, and called the castles of English subjects in the books of their law. And in the very act for altering your government, and intended to flatter you, you are not authorized to "assess, levy, or apply any rates and taxes, but for the inferior purposes of making roads, and erecting and repairing public buildings, or for other local conveniences within your respective towns and districts." Why this degrading distinction? Ought not the property honestly acquired by Canadians to be held as sacred as that of Englishmen? Have not Canadians sense enough to attend to any other public affairs than gathering stones from one place and piling them up in another? Unhappy people! who are not only injured, but insulted. Nay, more! With such a superlative contempt of your understanding and spirit has an insolent ministry presumed to think of you, our respectable fellow subjects, according to the information we have received, as firmly to persuade themselves that your

gratitude for the injuries and insults they have recently offered to you, will engage you to take up arms and render yourselves the ridicule and detestation of the world, by becoming tools in their hands in taking that freedom from us which they have treacherously denied to you ; the unavoidable consequences of which attempt, if successful, would be the extinction of all hopes of you or your posterity being ever restored to freedom : for idiotcy itself cannot believe, that when their drudgery is performed they will treat you with less cruelty than they have us, who are of the same blood with themselves.

What would your countryman, the immortal Montesquieu, have said to such a plan of domination as has been framed for you? Hear his words, with an intenseness of thought suited to the importance of the subject—"In a free state, every man who is supposed a free agent ought to be concerned in his own government : therefore, the legislative should reside in the whole body of the people or their representatives." "The political liberty of the subject is a tranquillity of mind, arising from the opinion each person has of his safety. In order to have this liberty, it is requisite the government be so constituted as that one man need not be afraid of another. When the power of making laws and the power of executing them are united in the same person, or in the same body of magistrates, there can be no liberty ; because apprehensions may arise lest the same monarch or senate should enact tyrannical laws to execute them in a tyrannical manner."

"The power of judging should be exercised by persons taken from the body of the people, at certain times of the year, and pursuant to a form and manner prescribed by law. There is no liberty, if the power of judging be not separated from the legislative and executive powers."

"Military men belong to a profession which may be useful, but is often dangerous." "The enjoyment of liberty, and even its support and preservation, consists in every man's being allowed to speak his thoughts, and lay open his sentiments."

Apply these decisive maxims, sanctified by the authority of a name which all Europe reveres, to your own state. You have a Governor, it may be urged, vested with the executive powers, or the powers of administration : In him and in your Council is lodged the power of making laws. You have judges, who are to decide every cause affecting your lives, liberty, or property. Here is, indeed, an appearance of the several powers being separated and distributed into different hands, for checks upon one another ; the only effectual mode ever invented by the wit of men, to promote their freedom and prosperity. But scorning to be illuded by a tinselled outside, and exerting the natural sagacity of Frenchmen, examine the specious device, and you will find it, to use an expression of holy writ, "a whited sepulchre," for burying your lives, liberty, and property.

Your judges and your Legislative Council, as it is called, are dependent on your Governor, and he is dependent on the servant of the crown in Great Britain. The legislative, executive, and judging

powers, are all moved by the nods of a minister. Privileges and immunities last no longer than his smiles. When he frowns their feeble forms dissolve. Such a treacherous ingenuity has been exerted in drawing up the code lately offered you, that every sentence beginning with a benevolent pretension concludes with a destructive power; and the substance of the whole, divested of its smooth words, is—that the crown and its ministers shall be as absolute throughout your extended province as the despots of Asia or Africa. What can protect your property from taxing edicts, and the rapacity of necessitous and cruel masters? your persons from *lettres-de-cachet*, jails, dungeons, and oppressive services? your lives and general liberty from arbitrary and unfeeling rulers? We defy you, casting your view upon every side, to discover a single circumstance, promising from any quarter the faintest hope of liberty to you, or your posterity, but from an entire adoption into the union of these Colonies.

What advice would the truly great man before-mentioned, that advocate of freedom and humanity, give you, were he now living, and knew that we, your numerous and powerful neighbors, animated by a just love of our invaded rights, and united by the indissoluble bands of affection and interest, called upon you, by every obligation of regard for yourselves and your children, as we now do, to join us in our righteous contest, to make common cause with us therein, and take a noble chance for emerging from a humiliating subjection under governors, intendants, and military tyrants, into the firm rank and condition of English freemen, whose custom it is, derived from their ancestors, to make those tremble, who dare to think of making them miserable?

Would not this be the purport of his address? "Seize the opportunity presented to you by Providence itself. You have been conquered into liberty, if you act as you ought. This work is not of man. You are a small people compared to those who, with open arms, invite you into a fellowship. A moment's reflection should convince you which will be most for your interest and happiness, to have all the rest of North America your unalterable friends, or your inveterate enemies. The injuries of Boston have roused and associated every Colony from Nova Scotia to Georgia. Your province is the only link wanting, to complete the bright and strong chain of union. Nature has joined your country to theirs. Do you join your political interests. For their own sakes they never will desert or betray you. Be assured, that the happiness of a people inevitably depends on their liberty, and their spirit to assert it. The value and extent of the advantages tendered to you are immense. Heaven grant you may not discover them to be blessings after they have bid you an eternal adieu.

We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation, to imagine that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. You know that the transcendant nature of freedom elevates those who unite in her cause, above all such low-minded infirmities. The Swiss cantons furnish a memorable proof of this truth. Their union is composed of Ro-

man Catholic and Protestant States, living in the utmost concord and peace with one another, and thereby enabled, ever since they bravely vindicated their freedom, to defy and defeat every tyrant that has invaded them.

Should there be any among you, as there generally are in all so cieties, who prefer the favors of ministers and their own private interests, to the welfare of their country, the temper of such selfish persons will render them incredibly active in opposing all public-spirited measures from an expectation of being well rewarded for their sordid industry by their superiors; but we doubt not you will be upon your guard against such men, and not sacrifice the liberty and happiness of the whole Canadian people and their posterity, to gratify the avarice and ambition of individuals.

We do not ask you, by this address, to commence acts of hostility against our common sovereign. We only invite you to consult your own glory and welfare, and not to suffer yourselves to be inveigled or intimidated by infamous ministers, so far as to become the instruments of their cruelty and despotism, but to unite with us in one social compact, formed on the generous principles of equal liberty, and cemented by such an exchange of beneficial and endearing offices as to render it perpetual. In order to complete this highly-desirable union we submit it to your consideration, whether it may not be expedient for you to meet together in your several towns and districts and elect deputies, who, afterwards meeting in a provincial Congress, may choose delegates to represent your province in the Continental Congress, to be held at Philadelphia on the tenth day of May, 1775.

In this present Congress, beginning on the fifth of the last month, and continued to this day, it has been with universal pleasure, and an unanimous vote, resolved, that we should consider the violation of your rights, by the act for altering the government of your province, as a violation of our own, and that you should be invited to accede to our confederation, which has no other objects than the perfect security of the natural and civil rights of all the constituent members, according to their respective circumstances, and the pre servation of a lasting and happy connexion with Great Britain on the salutary and constitutional principles hereinbefore mentioned. For effecting these purposes, we have addressed an humble and loyal petition to his Majesty, praying relief of our and your grievances; and have associated to stop all importations from Great Britain and Ireland, after the first day of December, and all exportations to those kingdoms and the West Indies, after the tenth day of next September, unless the said grievances are redressed.

That Almighty God may incline your minds to approve our equitable and necessary measures, to add yourselves to us, to put your fate, whenever you suffer injuries which you are determined to oppose, not on the small influence of your single province, but on the consolidated powers of North America; and may grant to our joint exertions, an event as happy as our cause is just, is the fervent

prayer of us, your sincere and affectionate friends and fellow-subjects. By order of the Congress,

HENRY MIDDLETON, President.

PETITION OF CONGRESS TO THE KING.*

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN:

WE, your majesty's faithful subjects, of the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies who have deputed us to represent them in general congress, by this our humble petition, beg leave to lay our grievances before the throne.

A standing army has been kept in these colonies ever since the conclusion of the late war, without the consent of our assemblies; and this army, with a considerable naval armament, has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes.

The authority of the commander-in-chief, and under him the brigadier-general, has in time of peace been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America.

The commander-in-chief of all your majesty's forces in North America has in time of peace been appointed governor of a colony.

The charges of usual officers have been greatly increased, and new, expensive, and oppressive offices have been multiplied.

The judges of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are empowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves.

The officers of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses without the authority of any civil magistrate, founded on legal information.

The judges of courts of common law have been made entirely dependent on one part of the legislature for their salaries, as well as for the duration of their commissions.

Counsellors, holding their commissions during pleasure, exercise legislative authority.

Humble and reasonable petitions, from the representatives of the people, have been fruitless.

The agents of the people have been discountenanced, and governors have been instructed to prevent the payment of the salaries.

Assemblies have been repeatedly and injuriously dissolved.

Commerce has been burdened with many useless and oppressive restrictions.

* Adopted October 26, 1774.—Journal of Congress, Vol. i, p. 63.

By several acts of parliament made in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth years of your majesty's reign, duties are imposed on us for the purpose of raising a revenue ; and the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are extended beyond their ancient limits, whereby our property is taken from us without our consent, the trial by jury in many civil cases is abolished, enormous forfeitures are incurred for slight offences, vexatious informers are exempted from paying damages to which they are justly liable, and oppressive security is required from owners before they are allowed to defend their right.

Both houses of parliament have resolved that colonists may be tried in England for offences alleged to have been committed in America, by virtue of a statute passed in the thirty-fifth year of Henry the Eighth, and in consequence thereof attempts have been made to enforce that statute.

A statute was passed in the twelfth year of your majesty's reign, directing that persons charged with committing any offence therein described in any place out of the realm, may be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm, whereby inhabitants of these colonies may, in sundry cases by that statute made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinage.

In the last session of parliament an act was passed for blocking up the harbor of Boston ; another, empowering the governor of the Massachusetts Bay to send persons indicted for murder in that province to another colony, or even to Great Britain, for trial, whereby such offenders may escape legal punishment ; a third for altering the chartered constitution of government in that province ; and a fourth for altering the limits of Quebec, abolishing the English and restoring the French laws, whereby great numbers of British Frenchmen are subjected to the latter, and establishing an absolute government and the Roman Catholic religion throughout those vast regions that border on the westerly and northerly boundaries of the free, Protestant, English settlements ; and a fifth, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers, in his majesty's service, in North America.

To a sovereign, who glories in the name of Britain, the bare recital of these acts must, we presume, justify the loyal subjects who fly to the foot of his throne and implore his clemency for protection against them.

From this destructive system of colony administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war, have flowed those distresses, dangers, fears, and jealousies, that overwhelm your majesty's dutiful colonists with affliction ; and we defy our most subtile and inveterate enemies to trace the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these colonies from an earlier period, or from other causes, than we have assigned.

Had they proceeded on our part from a restless levity of temper, unjust impulses of ambition, or artful suggestions of seditious persons, we should merit the opprobrious terms frequently bestowed upon us by those we revere. But so far from promoting innovations,

we have only opposed them, and can be charged with no offence unless it be one to receive injuries, and be sensible of them.

Had our Creator been pleased to give us existence in a land of slavery, the sense of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit. But, thanks be to his adorable goodness, we were born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our right under the auspices of your royal ancestors, whose family was seated on the throne to rescue and secure a pious and gallant nation from the popery and despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant. Your majesty, we are confident, justly rejoices that your title to the crown is thus founded on the title of your people to liberty; and, therefore, we doubt not but your royal wisdom must approve the sensibility that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessing they received from divine Providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that compact which elevated the illustrious house of Brunswick to the imperial dignity it now possesses.

The apprehension of being degraded into a state of servitude, from the pre-eminent rank of English freemen, while our minds retain the strongest love of liberty, and clearly foresee the miseries preparing for us and our posterity, excites emotions in our breasts which though we cannot describe, we should not wish to conceal. Feeling as men, and thinking as subjects in the manner we do, silence would be disloyalty. By giving this faithful information, we do all in our power to promote the great objects of your royal cares, the tranquillity of your government and the welfare of your people.

Duty to your Majesty, and regard for the preservation of ourselves and our posterity, the primary obligations of nature and society, command us to entreat your royal attention; and as your Majesty enjoys the signal distinction of reigning over freemen, we apprehend the language of freemen cannot be displeasing. Your royal indignation, we hope, will rather fall on those designing and dangerous men, who, daringly interposing themselves between your royal person and your faithful subjects, and for several years past incessantly employed to dissolve the bonds of society, by abusing your majesty's authority, misrepresenting your American subjects, and prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of oppression, have at length compelled us, by the force of accumulated injuries, too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your Majesty's repose by our complaints.

These sentiments are extorted from hearts that much more willingly would bleed in your Majesty's service. Yet so greatly have we been misrepresented, that a necessity has been alleged of taking away our property from us without our consent, "to defray the charge of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and the defence, protection, and security of the Colonies." But we beg leave to assure your Majesty that such provision has been, and will be made for defraying the two first articles, as has been, and shall be judged, by the Legislatures of the several Colonies, just and suitable to their respective circumstances: and, for the defence, protection, and security of the Colonies, their militia, if properly regulated, as they earnestly desire may immediately be

done, would be fully sufficient, at least in times of peace; and, in case of war, your faithful Colonists will be ready and willing, as they ever have been, when constitutionally required, to demonstrate their loyalty to your Majesty, by exerting their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces. Yielding to no British subjects in affectionate attachment to your Majesty's person, family, and government, we too dearly prize the privilege of expressing that attachment by those proofs, that are honorable to the prince who receives them, and to the people who give them, ever to resign it to any body of men upon earth.

Had we been permitted to enjoy, in quiet, the inheritance left us by our forefathers, we should, at this time, have been peaceably, cheerfully, and usefully employed in recommending ourselves, by every testimony of devotion, to your Majesty, and of veneration to the state from which we derive our origin. But though now exposed to unexpected and unnatural scenes of distress by a contention with that nation, in whose parental guidance on all important affairs, we have hitherto, with filial reverence, constantly trusted, and therefore can derive no instruction in our present unhappy and perplexing circumstances from any former experience; yet we doubt not, the purity of our intention, and the integrity of our conduct, will justify us at that grand tribunal, before which all mankind must submit to judgment.

We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety. We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favor. Your royal authority over us, and our connexion with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavor to support and maintain.

Filled with sentiments of duty to your Majesty, and of affection to our parent state, deeply impressed by our education, and strongly confirmed by our reason, and anxious to evince the sincerity of these dispositions, we present this petition only to obtain redress of grievances, and relief from fears and jealousies occasioned by the system of statutes and regulations adopted since the close of the late war, for raising a revenue in America; extending the powers of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty; trying persons in Great Britain for offences alleged to be committed in America, affecting the province of Massachusetts Bay; and altering the government and extending the limits of Quebec, by the abolition of which system, the harmony between Great Britain and these Colonies, so necessary to the happiness of both, and so ardently desired by the latter, and the usual intercourses will be immediately restored. In the magnanimity and justice of your Majesty and Parliament, we confide for a redress of our other grievances, trusting that when the causes of our apprehensions are removed, our future conduct will prove us not unworthy of the regard we have been accustomed, in our happier days, to enjoy. For, appealing to that being who searches, thoroughly, the hearts of his creatures, we solemnly profess that our councils have been influenced by no other motives than a dread of impending destruction.

Permit us, then, most gracious Sovereign, in the name of all your

faithful people in America, with the utmost humility, to implore you, for the honor of Almighty God, whose pure religion our enemies are undermining; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of your family, depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses, that your Majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendant relation formed by these ties to be further violated, in uncertain expectation of effects, that, if attained, never can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained.

We, therefore, most earnestly beseech your Majesty, that your royal authority and interposition may be used for our relief, and that a gracious answer may be given to this petition.

That your Majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long and glorious reign, over loyal and happy subjects, and that your descendants may inherit your prosperity and dominions till time shall be no more, is, and always will be, our sincere and fervent prayer.

NOTE VI.—PAGE 163.

ADDRESSES, &c.,

OF THE SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1775,

TO THE INHABITANTS OF CANADA.*

To the oppressed Inhabitants of Canada:—

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,—

Alarmed by the designs of an arbitrary ministry, to extirpate the rights and liberties of all America, a sense of common danger conspired with the dictates of humanity, in urging us to call your attention, by our late address, to this very important object.

Since the conclusion of the late war, we have been happy in considering you as fellow-subjects, and from the commencement of the present plan for subjugating the continent, we have viewed you as fellow-sufferers with us. As we were both entitled by the bounty of an indulgent Creator to freedom, and being both devoted by the cruel edicts of a despotic administration to common ruin, we perceived the fate of the Protestant and Catholic Colonies to be strongly linked together, and therefore invited you to join with us in resolving to be free, and in rejecting, with disdain, the fetters of slavery, however artfully polished.

We most sincerely condole with you on the arrival of that day, in

* Adopted May 29, 1775.—*Journals of Congress*, vol. i., p. 100.

the course of which, the sun could not shine on a single freeman in all your extensive dominions. Be assured, that your unmerited degradation has engaged the most unfeigned pity of your sister Colonies; and we flatter ourselves you will not, by tamely bearing the yoke, suffer that pity to be supplanted by contempt.

When hardy attempts are made to deprive men of rights bestowed by the Almighty, when avenues are cut through the most solemn compacts for the admission of despotism, when the plighted faith of government ceases to give security to dutiful subjects, and when the insidious stratagems and manœuvres of peace become more terrible than the sanguinary operations of war, it is high time for them to assert those rights, and, with honest indignation, oppose the torrent of oppression rushing in upon them.

By the introduction of your present form of government, or rather present form of tyranny, you, and your wives, and your children, are made slaves. You have nothing that you can call your own, and all the fruits of your labor and industry may be taken from you, whenever an avaricious Governor and a rapacious Council may incline to demand them. You are liable by their edicts to be transported into foreign countries to fight battles in which you have no interest, and to spill your blood in conflicts from which neither honor nor emolument can be derived: Nay, the enjoyment of your very religion, on the present system, depends on a Legislature in which you have no share, and over which you have no control, and your priests are exposed to expulsion, banishment, and ruin, whenever their wealth and possessions furnish sufficient temptation. They cannot be sure that a virtuous prince will always fill the throne, and should a wicked or careless king concur with a wicked ministry in extracting the treasure and strength of your country, it is impossible to conceive to what variety and to what extremes of wretchedness you may, under the present establishment, be reduced.

We are informed that you have already been called upon to waste your lives in a contest with us. Should you, by complying in this instance, assent to your new establishment, and a war break out with France, your wealth and your sons may be sent to perish in expeditions against their islands in the West Indies.

It cannot be presumed that these considerations will have no weight with you, or that you are so lost to all sense of honor. We can never believe that the present race of Canadians are so degenerated as to possess neither the spirit, the gallantry, nor the courage of their ancestors. You certainly will not permit the infamy and disgrace of such pusillanimity to rest on your own heads, and the consequences of it on your children for ever.

We, for our parts, are determined to live free or not at all; and are resolved that posterity shall never reproach us for having brought slaves into the world.

Permit us again to repeat that we are your friends, not your enemies, and be not imposed upon by those who may endeavor to create animosities. The taking of the fort and military stores at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the armed vessels on the lake,

was dictated by the great law of self-preservation. They were intended to annoy us, and to cut off that friendly intercourse and communication which has hitherto subsisted between you and us. We hope it has given you no uneasiness, and you may rely on our assurances, that these Colonies will pursue no measures whatever but such as a friendship and a regard for our mutual safety and interest may suggest.

As our concern for your welfare entitles us to your friendship, we presume you will not, by doing us injury, reduce us to the disagreeable necessity of treating you as enemies.

We yet entertain hopes of your uniting with us in the defence of our common liberty, and there is yet reason to believe, that should we join in imploring the attention of our sovereign to the unmerited and unparalleled oppressions of his American subjects, he will at length be undeceived, and forbid a licentious ministry any longer to riot in the ruins of the rights of mankind.

Ordered, That the above letter be signed by the President.

A DECLARATION, SETTING FORTH THE CAUSES AND NECESSITY OF THE COLONIES TAKING UP ARMS.*

If it was possible for men, who exercise their reason, to believe that the divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over, others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the parliament of Great Britain some evidence that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to affect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by violence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that assembly may be by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations of respect to the rest of the world to make known the justice of our cause.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the island of Great Britain, left their native land to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expense of their blood, at the hazard of

* Adopted July 6, 1775.—*Journals of Congress*, vol. i., p, 134.

their fortunes, without the least charge to their country from which they removed, by unceasing labor and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians. Societies or governments vested with perfect legislatures were formed under charters from the crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the colonies and the kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navigation of the realm arose from this source, and the minister who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great Britain in the late war publicly declared, that these colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies. Towards the conclusion of that war it pleased our sovereign to make a change in his counsels. From that fatal moment the affairs of the British empire began to fall into confusion, and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity, to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions that now shake it to its deepest foundations. The new ministry, finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state, as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statuteable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behavior from the beginning of colonization, their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honorable manner by his majesty, by the late king, and by parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and assuming a new power over them have, in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property; statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of the colonies; for interdicting all commerce with the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the "murderers" of colonists from legal trial, and in effect from punishment; for erecting in a neighboring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace. It has also

been resolved in parliament, that colonists charged with committing certain offences shall be transported to England to be tried.

But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it is declared, that parliament can "of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever." What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it is chosen by us, or is subject to our control or influence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws, and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants: we reasoned, we remonstrated with parliament in the most mild and decent language.

Administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused, it is true, but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A congress of delegates from the united colonies was assembled at Philadelphia on the fifth day of last September. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the king, and also addressed our fellow subjects of Great Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation on earth should supplant our attachment to liberty. This, we flattered ourselves, was the ultimate step of the controversy; but subsequent events have shown how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

Several threatening expressions against the Colonies were inserted in his Majesty's speech; our petition, though we were told it was a decent one, and that his Majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his Parliament, was huddled into both Houses among a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The Lords and Commons in their address in the month of February, said, that "a rebellion at that time actually existed within the province of Massachusetts Bay; and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engagements, entered into by his Majesty's subjects in several of the other Colonies; and therefore they besought his Majesty that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme Legislature." Soon after, the commercial intercourse of whole Colonies, with foreign countries, and with each other, was cut off by an act of Parliament; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their sustenance; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns in our favor. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations where Colony should bid against Colony, all of them uninformed what ransom would redeem their lives, and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us of raising, in our own mode, the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies? In our circumstances to accept them, would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on this continent, General Gage, who in the course of the last year had taken possession of the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the nineteenth day of April, sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province, at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord, where they set upon another party of the inhabitants of the same province, killing several and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country people suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression. Hostilities, thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of Boston being confined within that town by the General, their Governor, and having, in order to procure their dismission, entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated that the said inhabitants, having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms, but in open violation of honor, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteem sacred, the Governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers; detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and the sick from their relations and friends, who wish to attend and comfort them; and those who have been used to live in plenty and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

The General, further emulating his ministerial masters, by a pro-

clamation bearing date on the twelfth day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these Colonies, proceeds to "declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors, to supersede the course of the common law, and instead thereof to publish and order the use and exercise of the law martial." His troops have butchered our countrymen, have wantonly burnt Charlestown, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

We have received certain intelligence that General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, is instigating the people of that province and the Indians to fall upon us; and we have but too much reason to apprehend that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against us. In brief, a part of these Colonies now feel, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just: our union is perfect: our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the Divine favor towards us, that his Providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operation, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, *declare*, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves.

Lest this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent States. We fight not for glory

nor for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any imputation or even suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birthright, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it—for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the Universe, we most devoutly implore his divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

SECOND PETITION TO THE KING.*

To the King's most Excellent Majesty,

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN:—

WE, your majesty's most faithful subjects, of the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in general Congress, entreat your majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

The union between our mother country and these colonies, and the energy of mild and just government, produced benefits so remarkably important, and afforded such an assurance of their permanency and increase, that the wonder and envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld Great Britain rising to a power the most extraordinary the world had ever known.

Her rivals, observing there was no probability of this happy connexion being broken by civil dissensions, and apprehending its future effects, if left any longer undisturbed, resolved to prevent her receiving such continual and formidable accessions of wealth and strength, by checking the growth of those settlements from which they were to be derived.

In the prosecution of this attempt, events so unfavorable to the design took place, that every friend to the interest of Great Britain and these colonies, entertained pleasing and reasonable expectations of seeing an additional force and exertion immediately given to the operations of the union hitherto experienced, by an enlargement of

* Adopted July 8, 1775—Journals of Congress, Vol. i., p. 139.

the dominions of the crown, and the removal of ancient and warlike enemies to a greater distance. At the conclusion, therefore, of the late war, the most glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by British arms, your loyal colonists having contributed to its success, by such repeated and strenuous exertions, as frequently procured them the distinguished approbation of your majesty, of the late king, and of parliament, doubted not but that they should be permitted, with the rest of the empire, to share in the blessings of peace, and the emoluments of victory and conquest.

While these recent and honorable acknowledgments of their merits remained on record in the journals and acts of that august legislature, the parliament, undefaced by the imputation or even the suspicion of any offence, they were alarmed by a new system of statutes and regulations adopted for the administration of the colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies; and, to their inexpressible astonishment, perceived the danger of a foreign quarrel, quickly succeeded by domestic danger, in their judgment, of a more dreadful kind.

Nor were these anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote the welfare of their mother country. For though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and prosperity of Great Britain.

We shall decline the ungrateful task of describing the irksome variety of artifices, practised by many of your majesty's ministers, the delusive pretences, fruitless terrors, and unavailing severities, that have, from time to time, been dealt out by them, in their attempts to execute this impolitic plan, or of tracing, through a series of years past, the progress of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these colonies, that have flowed from this fatal source.

Your majesty's ministers, persevering in their measures, and proceeding to open hostilities for enforcing them, have compelled us to arm in our own defence, and have engaged us in a controversy so peculiarly abhorrent to the affections of your still faithful colonists, that when we consider whom we must oppose in this contest, and if it continues, what may be the consequences, our own particular misfortunes are accounted by us only as parts of our distress.

Knowing to what violent resentments, and incurable animosities, civil discords are apt to exasperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourselves required by indispensable obligation to Almighty God, to your majesty, to our fellow subjects, and to ourselves, immediately to use all the means in our power, not incompatible with our safety, for stopping the further effusion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the British empire.

Thus called upon to address your majesty on affairs of such moment to America, and probably to all your dominions, we are earnestly desirous of performing this office, with the utmost deference for your majesty: and we therefore pray that your majesty's royal magnanimity and benevolence may make the most favorable construction of our expressions on so uncommon an occasion. Could we

represent in their full force, the sentiments that agitate the minds of us your dutiful subjects, we are persuaded your majesty would ascribe any seeming deviation from reverence in our language, and even in our conduct, not to any reprehensible intention, but to the impossibility of reconciling the usual appearances of respect, with a just attention to our own preservation against those artful and cruel enemies, who abuse your royal confidence and authority, for the purpose of effecting our destruction.

Attached to your majesty's person, family, and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your majesty, that we not only desire the former harmony between her and these colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established between them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries, and to transmit your majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages, whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and, by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

We beg leave further to assure your majesty, that notwithstanding the sufferings of your loyal colonists, during the course of this present controversy, our breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin, to request such a reconciliation as might in any manner be inconsistent with her dignity or her welfare. These, related as we are to her, honor and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to support and advance ; and the apprehensions that now oppress our hearts with unspeakable grief, being once removed, your majesty will find your faithful subjects on this continent ready and willing at all times, as they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of your majesty, and of our mother country.

We, therefore, beseech your majesty, that your royal authority and influence may be graciously interposed to procure us relief from our afflicting fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system before mentioned, and to settle peace through every part of your dominions, with all humility submitting to your majesty's wise consideration whether it may not be expedient for facilitating those important purposes, that your majesty be pleased to direct some mode, by which the united applications of your faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation : and that, in the meantime, measures may be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your majesty' s subjects, and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of your majesty's colonies may be repealed.

For by such arrangements as your majesty's wisdom can form, for collecting the united sense of your American people, we are convinced your majesty would receive such satisfactory proofs of the disposition

of the colonists towards their sovereign and parent state, that the wished-for opportunity would soon be restored to them, of evincing the sincerity of their profession, by every testimony of devotion becoming the most dutiful subjects and the most affectionate colonists.

That your majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous reign, and that your descendants may govern your dominions with honor to themselves, and happiness to their subjects, is our sincere prayer.

ADDRESS TO THE ASSEMBLY OF JAMAICA.*

MR. SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSEMBLY OF JAMAICA:

WE would think ourselves deficient in our duty, if we suffered this Congress to pass over, without expressing our esteem for the assembly of Jamaica.

Whoever attends to the conduct of those who have been intrusted with the administration of British affairs, during these last twelve years, will discover in it a deliberate plan to destroy, in every part of the empire, the free constitution for which Britain has been so long and so justly famed. With a dexterity, artful and wicked, they have varied the modes of attack, according to the different characters and circumstances of those whom they meant to reduce. In the East Indies, where the effeminacy of the inhabitants promised an easy conquest, they thought it unnecessary to veil their tyrannic principle under the thinnest disguise. Without deigning even to pretend a justification of their conduct, they sacrificed the lives of millions to the gratification of their insatiable avarice and lust of power. In Britain, where the maxims of freedom were still known, but where luxury and dissipation had diminished the wonted reverence for them, the attack has been carried on in a more secret and indirect manner. Corruption has been employed to undermine them. The Americans are not enervated by effeminacy, like the inhabitants of India; nor debauched by luxury, like those of Great Britain. It was, therefore, judged improper to assail them by bribery, or by undisguised force. Plausible systems were formed; specious pretences were made. All the arts of sophistry were tried to show that the British ministry had by law a right to enslave us. The first and best maxims of the constitution, venerable to Britons and to Americans, were perverted and profaned. The power of parliament, derived from the people, to bind the people, was extended over those from whom it was never derived. It is asserted, that, a standing army may be constitutionally kept among us, without our consent. Those principles, dishonorable to those who adopted them, and destructive to those to whom they were applied, were nevertheless carried into execution by the foes of liberty and of mankind. Acts of parliament, ruinous to America, and unserviceable to Britain, were made to bind us; armies maintained by the parliament

* Adopted July 25, 1775—Journals of Congress, Vol. i., p. 162,

were sent over to secure their operation. The power, however, and the cunning of our adversaries, were alike unsuccessful. We refused to their parliaments an obedience, which our judgments disapproved of: we refused to their armies a submission, which spirits, unaccustomed to slavery, could not brook.

But while we spurned a disgraceful subjection, we were far from running into rash or seditious measures of opposition. Filled with sentiments of loyalty to our Sovereign, and of affection and respect for our fellow-subjects in Britain, we petitioned, we supplicated, we expostulated; our prayers were rejected; our remonstrances were disregarded; our grievances were accumulated. All this did not provoke us to violence.

An appeal to the justice and humanity of those who had injured us, and were bound to redress our injuries, was ineffectual; we next resolved to make an appeal to their interest, though by doing so, we knew we must sacrifice our own and (which gave us equal uneasiness) that of our friends, who had never offended us, and who were connected with us by a sympathy of feelings, under oppressions similar to our own. We resolved to give up our commerce that we might preserve our liberty. We flattered ourselves that, when by withdrawing our commercial intercourse with Britain, which we had an undoubted right either to withdraw or continue, her trade should be diminished, her revenues impaired, and her manufacturers unemployed, our ministerial foes would be induced by interest, or compelled by necessity, to depart from the plan of tyranny which they had so long pursued, and to substitute in its place a system more compatible with the freedom of America and justice of Britain. That this scheme of non-importation and non-exportation might be productive of the desired effects, we were obliged to include the islands in it. From this necessity, and from this necessity alone, has our conduct towards them proceeded. By converting your sugar-plantations into fields of grain, you can supply yourselves with the necessaries of life: While the present unhappy struggle shall continue we cannot do more.

But why should we make any apology to the patriotic assembly of Jamaica, who know so well the value of liberty; who are so sensible of the extreme danger to which ours is exposed; and who foresee how certainly the destruction of ours must be followed by the destruction of their own?

We receive uncommon pleasure from observing the principles of our righteous opposition distinguished by your approbation: we feel the warmest gratitude for your pathetic mediation in our behalf with the crown. It was indeed unavailing—but are you to blame? Mournful experience tells us that petitions are often rejected, while the sentiments and conduct of the petitioners entitle what they offer to a happier fate.

That our petitions have been treated with disdain, is now become the smallest part of our complaint: Ministerial insolence is lost in ministerial barbarity. It has, by an exertion peculiarly ingenious, procured those very measures which it laid us under the hard necessity

of pursuing, to be stigmatized in Parliament as rebellious: It has employed additional fleets and armies for the infamous purpose of compelling us to abandon them: It has plunged us in all the horrors and calamities of civil war: It has caused the treasure and blood of Britons (formerly shed and expended for far other ends) to be spilt and wasted in the execrable design of spreading slavery over British America: It will not, however, accomplish its aim: In the worst of contingencies, a choice will still be left, which it never can prevent us from making.

The peculiar situation of your island forbids your assistance. But we have your good wishes. From the good wishes of the friends of liberty and mankind, we shall always derive consolation.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.*

FRIENDS AND FELLOW SUBJECTS:

As the important contest into which we have been driven is now become interesting to every European state, and particularly affects the members of the British empire, we think it our duty to address you on the subject. We are desirous, as is natural to injured innocence, of possessing the good opinion of the virtuous and humane. We are peculiarly desirous of furnishing you with the true state of our motives and objects; the better to enable you to judge of our conduct with accuracy, and determine the merits of the controversy with impartiality and precision.

However incredible it may appear that, at this enlightened period, the leaders of a nation which in every age has sacrificed hecatombs of her bravest patriots on the altar of liberty, should presume gravely to assert, and by force of arms attempt to establish an arbitrary sway over the lives, liberties, and property of their fellow subjects in America, it is, nevertheless, a most deplorable and indisputable truth.

These colonies have, from the time of their first settlement for near two centuries, peaceably enjoyed those very rights of which the ministry have for ten years past endeavored by fraud and by violence to deprive them. At the conclusion of the last war the genius of England and the spirit of wisdom, as if offended at the ungrateful treatment of their sons, withdrew from the British counsels, and left that nation a prey to a race of ministers with whom ancient English honesty and benevolence disdained to dwell. From that period jealousy, discontent, oppression, and discord, have raged among all his majesty's subjects, and filled every part of his dominions with distress and complaint.

Not content with our purchasing of Britain, at her own price, clothing and a thousand other articles used by near three millions of people on this vast continent—not satisfied with the amazing profits arising from the monopoly of our trade, without giving us either time

* Adopted July 28, 1775.—Journals of Congress, vol i., p. 168.

to breathe after a long, though glorious war, or the least credit for the blood and treasure we have expended in it; notwithstanding the zeal we had manifested for the service of our sovereign, and the warmest attachment to the constitution of Britain and the people of England, a black and horrid design was formed to convert us from freemen into slaves, from subjects into vassals, and from friends into enemies.

Taxes, for the first time since we landed on the American shores, were without our consent imposed upon us; an unconstitutional edict to compel us to furnish necessaries for a standing army that we wished to see disbanded, was issued; and the legislature of New York suspended for refusing to comply with it. Our ancient and inestimable right of trial by jury was in many instances abolished, and the common law of the land made to give place to admiralty jurisdiction. Judges were rendered, by the tenure of their commissions, entirely dependent on the will of a minister. New crimes were arbitrarily created, and new courts, unknown to the constitution, instituted. Wicked and insidious governors have been set over us; and dutiful petitions for the removal even of the notoriously infamous Governor Hutchinson were branded with the opprobrious appellations of scandalous and defamatory. Hardy attempts have been made, under color of parliamentary authority, to seize Americans and carry them to Great Britain to be tried for offences committed in the colonies. Ancient charters have no longer remained sacred; that of the Massachusetts Bay was violated, and their form of government essentially mutilated and transformed. On pretence of punishing a violation of some private property, committed by a few disguised individuals, the populous and flourishing town of Boston was surrounded by fleets and armies, its trade destroyed, its port blocked up, and thirty thousand citizens subjected to all the miseries attending so sudden a convulsion in their commercial metropolis; and to remove every obstacle to the vigorous execution of this system of oppression, an act of parliament was passed evidently calculated to indemnify those who might in the prosecution of it even embrue their hands in the blood of the inhabitants.

Though pressed by such an accumulation of undeserved injuries, America still remembered her duty to her sovereign. A congress, consisting of deputies from twelve united colonies, assembled; they, in the most respectful terms, laid their grievances at the foot of the throne, and implored his majesty's interposition in their behalf. They also agreed to suspend all trade with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, hoping, by this peaceable mode of opposition, to obtain that justice from the British ministry which had been so long solicited in vain. And here permit us to assure you, that it was with the utmost reluctance we could prevail upon ourselves to cease our commercial connexion with your island. Your parliament had done us no wrong. You had ever been friendly to the rights of mankind: and we acknowledge with pleasure and gratitude that your nation has produced patriots who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America. On the other hand, we

were not ignorant that the labor and manufactures of Ireland, like those of the silk-worm, were of little moment to herself; but served only to give luxury to those who neither toil nor spin. We perceived that if we continued our commerce with you, our agreement not to import from Great Britain would be fruitless, and were therefore compelled to adopt a measure to which nothing but absolute necessity would have reconciled us. It gave us, however, some consolation to reflect that should it occasion much distress the fertile regions of America would afford you a safe asylum from poverty, and in time from oppression also; an asylum in which many thousands of your countrymen have found hospitality, peace, and affluence, and become united to us by all the ties of consanguinity, mutual interest, and affection. Nor did congress stop here: flattered by a pleasing expectation that the justice and humanity which had so long characterized the English nation would, on proper application, afford us relief, they represented their grievances in an affectionate address to their brethren in Britain, and entreated their aid and interposition in behalf of these colonies.

The more fully to evince their respect for their sovereign, the unhappy people of Boston were requested by the congress to submit with patience to their fate; and all America united in a resolution to abstain from every species of violence. During this period that devoted town suffered unspeakably. Its inhabitants were insulted and their property violated. Still relying on the clemency and justice of his majesty and the nation, they permitted a few regiments to take possession of their town, to surround it with fortifications, and to cut off all intercourse between them and their friends in the country.

With anxious expectation did all America wait the event of their petition. All America laments its fate. Their prince was deaf to their complaints; and vain were all attempts to impress him with a sense of the sufferings of his American subjects, of the cruelty of their task-masters, and of the many plagues which impended over his dominions. Instead of directions for a candid inquiry into our grievances, insult was added to oppression, and our long forbearance rewarded by the imputation of cowardice. Our trade with foreign states was prohibited; and an act of parliament passed to prevent our even fishing on our own coasts. Our peaceable assemblies, for the purpose of consulting the common safety, were declared seditious; and our asserting the very rights which placed the crown of Great Britain on the heads of the three successive princes of the house of Hanover, styled rebellion. Orders were given to reinforce the troops in America. The wild and barbarous savages of the wilderness have been solicited by gifts to take up the hatchet against us, and instigated to deluge our settlements with the blood of innocent and defenceless women and children. The whole country was moreover alarmed with the horrors of domestic insurrections. Refinements in parental cruelty, at which the genius of Britain must blush! Refinements which admit not of being even recited without horror, or practised without infamy! We should be happy were these

dark machinations the mere suggestions of suspicion. We are sorry to declare that we are possessed of the most authentic and indubitable evidence of their reality.

The ministry, bent on pulling down the pillars of the constitution, endeavored to erect the standard of despotism in America; and if successful, Britain and Ireland may shudder at the consequences.

Three of their most experienced generals are sent to wage war with their fellow subjects; and America is amazed to find the name of Howe in the catalogue of her enemies: she loved his brother.

Despairing of driving the colonists to resistance by any other means than actual hostility, a detachment of the army at Boston marched into the country in all the array of war, and, unprovoked, fired upon and killed several of the inhabitants. The neighboring farmers suddenly assembled and repelled the attack. From this, all communication between the town and country was intercepted. The citizens petitioned the general for permission to leave the town, and he promised, on surrendering their arms, to permit them to depart with their other effects. They accordingly surrendered their arms, and the general violated his faith. Under various pretences passports were delayed and denied; and many thousands of the inhabitants are at this day confined in the town in the utmost wretchedness and want. The lame, the blind, and the sick, have indeed been turned out into the neighboring fields; and some, eluding the vigilance of the sentries, have escaped from the town by swimming to the adjacent shores.

The war having thus begun on the part of General Gage's troops, the country armed and embodied. The reinforcements from Ireland soon after arrived; a vigorous attack was then made upon the provincials. In their march the troops surrounded the town of Charlestown, consisting of about four hundred houses, then recently abandoned to escape the fury of a relentless soldiery. Having plundered the houses, they set fire to the town and reduced it to ashes. To this wanton waste of property, unknown to civilized nations, they were prompted the better to conceal their approach under cover of the smoke. A shocking mixture of cowardice and cruelty, which then first tarnished the lustre of British arms when aimed at a brother's breast! But, blessed be God, they were restrained from committing further ravages, by the loss of a very considerable part of their army, including many of their most experienced officers. The loss of the inhabitants was inconsiderable.

Compelled, therefore, to behold thousands of our countrymen imprisoned, and men, women, and children involved in promiscuous and unmerited misery! When we find all faith at an end, and sacred treaties turned into tricks of state; when we perceive our friends and kinsmen massacred, our habitations plundered, our houses in flames, and their once-happy inhabitants fed only by the hand of charity; who can blame us for endeavoring to restrain the progress of desolation? who can censure our repelling the attacks of such a barbarous band? who, in such circumstances, would not obey the great, the universal, the divine law of self-preservation?

Though vilified as wanting spirit, we are determined to behave like men—though insulted and abused, we wish for reconciliation—though defamed as seditious, we are ready to obey the laws—and though charged with rebellion, will cheerfully bleed in defence of our sovereign in a righteous cause. What more can we say? What more can we offer?

But we forbear to trouble you with a tedious detail of the various and fruitless offers and applications we have repeatedly made, not for pensions, for wealth, or for honors, but for the humble boon of being permitted to possess the fruits of honest industry, and to enjoy the degree of liberty to which God and the constitution have given us an undoubted right.

Blessed with an indissoluble union, with a variety of internal resources, and with a firm reliance on the justice of the supreme Disposer of all human events, we have no doubt of rising superior to all the machinations of evil and abandoned ministers. We already anticipate the golden period when liberty, with all the gentle arts of peace and humanity, shall establish her mild dominion in this western world, and erect eternal monuments to the memory of those virtuous patriots and martyrs who shall have fought and bled and suffered in her cause.

Accept our most grateful acknowledgments for the friendly disposition you have always shown towards us. We know that you are not without your grievances. We sympathize with you in your distress, and are pleased to find that the design of subjugating us has persuaded administration to dispense to Ireland some vagrant rays of ministerial sunshine. Even the tender mercies of government have long been cruel to you. In the rich pastures of Ireland many hungry parricides have fed, and grown strong to labor in its destruction. We hope the patient abiding of the meek may not always be forgotten; and God grant that the iniquitous schemes of extirpating liberty from the British empire may be soon defeated. But we should be wanting to ourselves—we should be perfidious to posterity—we should be unworthy that ancestry from which we derive our descent, should we submit with folded arms to military butchery and depredation, to gratify the lordly ambition, or sate the avarice of a British ministry. In defence of our persons and properties, under actual violation, we have taken up arms; when that violence shall be removed, and hostilities cease on the part of the aggressors, they shall cease on our part also. For the achievement of this happy event, we confide in the good offices of our fellow subjects beyond the Atlantic. Of their friendly dispositions we do not yet despond; aware, as they must be, that they have nothing more to expect from the same common enemy than the humble favor of being last devoured.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

JULY 4th, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:—

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise—the state remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states—for that purpose obstructing the laws of naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws—giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the *forms* of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries

to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

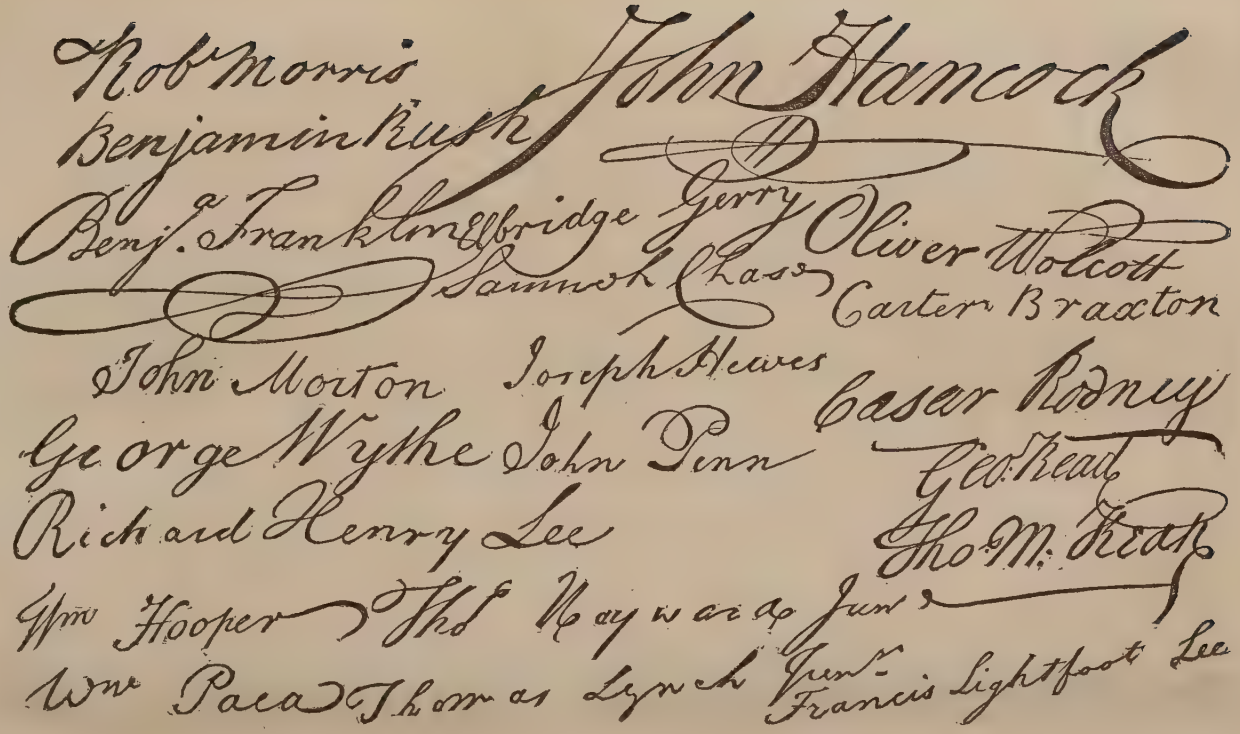
He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

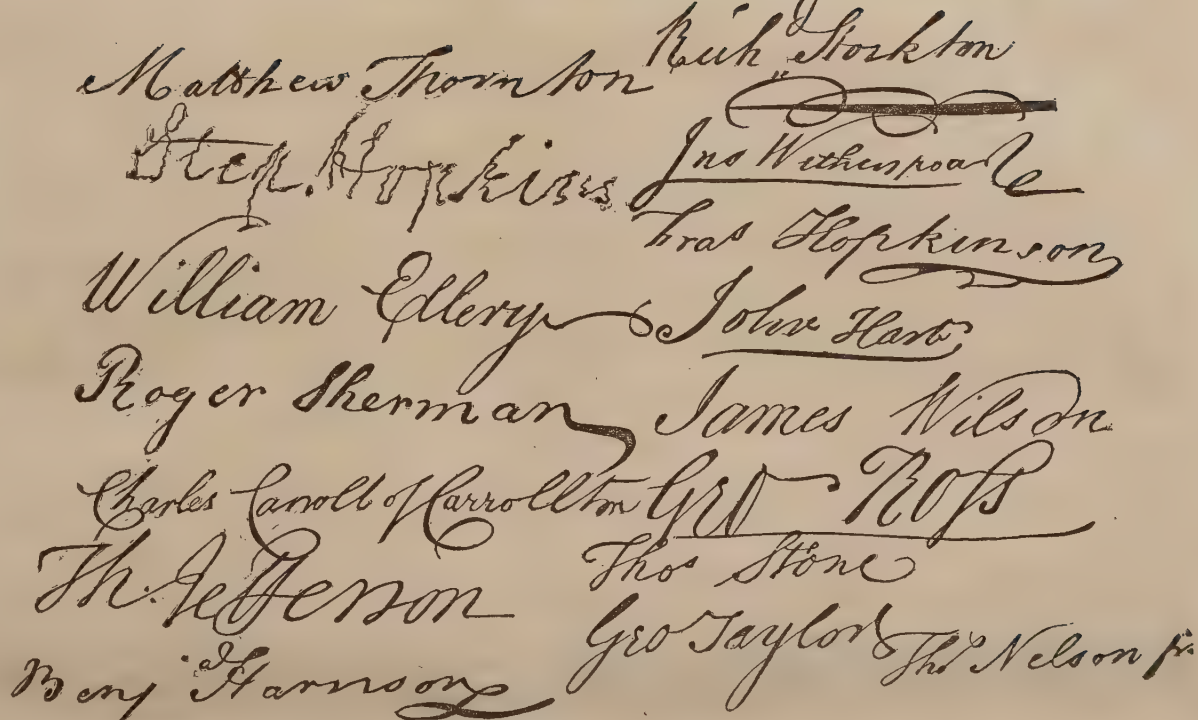
In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts, by their legislature, to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connexions and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed and signed by the following members :—


Rob Morris
John Hancock
Benjamin Rush
Benj. Franklin
Elbridge Gerry
Oliver Wolcott
Samuel Chase
Carter Braxton
John Morton
Joseph Hewes
Caesar Rodney
George Wythe
John Penn
Geo. Read
Richard Henry Lee
Thos. M. Read
Wm Hooper
Thos Heyward Jun.
Wm Paca
Thomas Lynch Jun.
Francis Lightfoot Lee


Matthew Thornton
Rich.d Stockton
Jno Witherspoon
Wm. Hopkins
Wm. Hopkinson
William Ellery
John Hart
Roger Sherman
James Wilson
Geo. Ross
Thos Stone
Geo. Taylor
Thos. Nelson jr.
Benj.a Harrison

IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, JULY 4, 1776.

The following list of members of the continental Congress, who signed the Declaration of Independence (although the names are included in the general list of that Congress, from 1774 to 1788), is given separately, for the purpose of showing the places and dates of their birth, and the time of their respective deaths, for convenient reference.

NAMES OF THE SIGNERS.	BORN AT	DELEGATED FROM	DIED
Adams, John	Braintree, Mass., 19 Oct. 1735	Massachusetts,	4 July, 1826
Adams, Samuel	Boston, " 27 Sep. 1722	Massachusetts,	2 Oct., 1803
Bartlett, Josiah	Amesbury, " in Nov. 1729	New Hampshire,	19 May, 1795
Braxton, Carter	Newington, Va., 10 Sep. 1736	Virginia,	10 Oct., 1797
Carroll, Cha's, of Car'lton	Annapolis, Md., 20 Sep. 1737	Maryland,	14 Nov., 1832
Chase, Samuel	Somerset co., Md., 17 Apr. 1741	Maryland,	19 June, 1811
Clark, Abraham	Elizabetht'n, N. J. 15 Feb. 1726	New Jersey,	— Sept., 1794
Clymer, George	Philadelphia, Penn., in 1739	Pennsylvania,	23 Jan., 1813
Ellery, William	Newport, R. I., 22 Dec. 1727	R. I. & Prov. Pl.,	15 Feb., 1820
Floyd, William	Suffolk co., N. Y., 17 Dec. 1734	New York,	4 Aug., 1821
Franklin, Benjamin	Boston, Mass., 17 Jan. 1706	Pennsylvania,	17 April, 1790
Gerry, Elbridge	Marblehead, Mass., 17 Jul. 1744	Massachusetts,	23 Nov., 1814
Gwinnet, Button	England, in 1732	Georgia,	27 May, 1777
Hall, Lyman	——— Conn., in 1731	Georgia,	— Feb., 1790
Hancock, John	Braintree, Mass., in 1737	Massachusetts,	8 Oct., 1793
Harrison, Benjamin	Berkely, Virginia, ——	Virginia,	— April, 1791
Hart, John	Hopewell, N. J., about 1715	New Jersey,	— ——, 1780
Heyward, Thomas, jr.	St. Luke's, S. C., in 1746	South Carolina,	— Mar., 1809
Hewes, Joseph	Kingston, N. J., in 1730	North Carolina,	10 Nov., 1779
Hooper, William	Boston, Mass., 17 June, 1742	North Carolina,	— Oct., 1790
Hopkins, Stephen	Scituate, " 7 Mar. 1707	R. I. & Prov. Pl.	13 July, 1785
Hopkinson, Francis	Philadelphia, Penn., in 1737	New Jersey,	9 May, 1790
Huntington, Samuel	Windham, Conn., 3 July, 1732	Connecticut,	5 Jan., 1796
Jefferson, Thomas	Shadwell, Va., 13 Apr. 1743	Virginia,	4 July, 1826
Lee, Francis Lightfoot	Stratford, " 14 Oct. 1734	Virginia,	— April, 1797
Lee, Richard Henry	Stratford, " 20 Jan. 1732	Virginia,	19 June, 1794
Lewis, Francis	Landaff, Wales, in Mar. 1713	New York,	30 Dec., 1803
Livingston, Philip	Albany, N. Y., 15 Jan. 1716	New York,	12 June, 1778
Lynch, Thomas, jr.	St. George's, S. C., 5 Aug. 1749	South Carolina,	lost at sea 1779
M Kean, Thomas	Chester co., Pa., 19 Mar., 1734	Delaware,	24 June, 1817
Middleton, Arthur	Middleton Place, S. C., in 1743	South Carolina,	1 Jan., 1787
Morris, Lewis	Morrisania, N. Y., in 1726	New York,	22 Jan., 1798
Morris, Robert	Lancashire, Eng., Jan. 1733–'4	Pennsylvania,	8 May, 1806
Morton, John	Ridley, Penn., in 1724	Pennsylvania,	— April, 1777
Nelson, Thomas, jr.	York, Virginia, 26 Dec. 1738	Virginia,	4 Jan., 1789
Paca, William	Wye-Hill, Md., 31 Oct. 1740	Maryland,	— ——, 1799
Paine, Robert Treat	Boston, Mass., in 1731	Massachusetts,	11 May, 1804
Penn, John	Caroline co., Va., 17 May, 1741	North Carolina,	26 Oct., 1809
Read, George	Cecil co., Md., in 1734	Delaware,	— ——, 1798
Rodney, Cæsar	Dover, Delaware, in 1730	Delaware,	— ——, 1783
Ross, George	New Castle, Del., in 1730	Pennsylvania,	— July, 1779
Rush, Benjamin, M. D.	Byberry, Penn., 24 Dec. 1745	Pennsylvania,	19 April, 1813
Rutledge, Edward	Charleston, S. C., in Nov. 1749	South Carolina,	23 Jan., 1800
Sherman, Roger	Newton, Mass., 19 Apr. 1721	Connecticut,	23 July, 1793
Smith, James	———, Ireland, ——	Pennsylvania,	11 July, 1806
Stockton, Richard	Princeton, N. J., 1 Oct. 1730	New Jersey,	28 Feb., 1781
Stone, Thomas	Charles co., Md., in 1742	Maryland,	5 Oct., 1787
Taylor, George	———, Ireland, in 1716	Pennsylvania,	23 Feb., 1781
Thornton, Matthew	———, " in 1714	New Hampshire,	24 June, 1803
Walton, George	Frederick co., Va., in 1740	Georgia,	2 Feb., 1804
Whipple, William	Kittery, Maine, in 1730	New Hampshire,	28 Nov., 1785
Williams, William	Lebanon, Conn., 8 Apr. 1731	Connecticut,	2 Aug. 1811
Wilson, James	Scotland, about 1742	Pennsylvania,	28 Aug., 1798
Witherspoon, John	Yester, Scotland, 5 Feb. 1722	New Jersey,	15 Nov., 1794
Wolcott, Oliver	Windsor, Conn., 26 Nov. 1726	Connecticut,	1 Dec., 1797
Wythe, George	Elizabeth city co., Va., 1726	Virginia,	8 June, 1806

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME, WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, DELEGATES OF THE STATES AFFIXED TO OUR NAMES, SEND GREETING.

WHEREAS, the delegates of the United States of America in Congress assembled did, on the fifteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, and in the second year of the independence of America, agree to certain articles of confederation and perpetual Union between the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, in the words following, viz. :—

Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

ARTICLE 1. The style of this confederacy shall be, "The United States of America."

ARTICLE 2. Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE 3. The said states hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare; binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

ARTICLE 4. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship, and intercourse among the people of the different states in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these states, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice, excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states; and the people of each state shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other state, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions, as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any state to any other state, of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction,

shall be laid by any state on the property of the United States or either of them.

If any person guilty of or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor, in any state, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the governor or executive power of the state from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the state having jurisdiction of his offence.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these states to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other state.

ARTICLE 5. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates ahall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each state shall direct to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each state to recall its delegates or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year.

No state shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor by more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emoluments of any kind.

Each state shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the states, and while they act as members of the commitee of the states.

In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each state shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress; and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments, during the time of their going to and from and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE 6. No state, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty, with any king, prince, or state; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more states shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever, between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into and how long it shall continue.

No state shall lay any imposts or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessel-of-war shall be kept up in time of peace by any state, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled for the defence of such state or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any state in time of peace, except such number only as in the judgment of the United States in Congress as-

sembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such state; but every state shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and have constantly ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

No state shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such state be actually invaded by enemies or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such state, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any state grant commissions to any ships or vessels-of-war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such state be infested by pirates, in which case vessels-of-war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

Article 7. When land forces are raised by any state for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the legislature of each state respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such state shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the state which first made the appointment.

Article 8. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states in proportion to the value of all land within each state granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall from time to time direct and appoint.

The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several states, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

Article 9. The United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article—of sending and receiving ambassadors—entering into treaties and alliances; provided, that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective states shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever—of establishing rules for deciding in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated—of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace—appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures: provided, that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting or that hereafter may arise between two or more states concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any state in controversy with another shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other state in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties, by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint by joint consent commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they can not agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges, who shall hear the cause, shall agree in the determination: and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each state, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive, and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear, or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgment or sentence and other proceedings, being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned: provided, that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the state, where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward:" provided also, that no state shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil, claimed under different grants of two or more states, whose jurisdiction as they may respect such lands and the states which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different states.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective states—fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States—regulating

the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians not members of any of the states; provided that the legislative right of any state within its own limits be not infringed or violated—establishing and regulating postoffices from one state to another throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same, as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office—appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States excepting regimental officers—appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States—making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated "a committee of the states," and to consist of one delegate from each state; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States, under their direction—to appoint one of their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years—to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses—to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half year to the respective states an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted—to build and equip a navy—to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each state for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such state; which requisition shall be binding, and thereupon the legislature of each state shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm, and equip them, in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled: but if the United States in Congress assembled, shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any state should not raise men or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other state should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped, in the same manner as the quota of such state, unless the legislature of such state shall judge that such extra number can not safely be spared out of the same; in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip, as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels-of-war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine states assent to the same; nor shall a question

on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months; and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secresy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each state on any question shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a state, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several states.

ARTICLE 10. The committee of the states, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States in Congress assembled, by the consent of nine states, shall from time to time, think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the articles of confederation, the voice of nine states in the Congress of the United States assembled is requisite.

ARTICLE 11. Canada, acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to, all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same unless such admission be agreed to by nine states.

ARTICLE 12. All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted, by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ARTICLE 13. Every state shall abide by the decision of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which, by this confederation, are submitted to them. And the articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterward confirmed by the legislature of every state.

And whereas it has pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of and to authorize us to ratify the said articles of confederation and perpetual Union: *know ye*, that we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do, by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said articles of confederation and perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained; and we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which, by the said confederation, are submitted to them; and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the states we respectively represent; and that the Union be perpetual.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, in Congress. Done at Philadelphia, in the state of Pennsylvania, the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, and in the third year of the independence of America.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Josiah Bartlett,
John Wentworth, jr.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

John Hancock,
Samuel Adams,
Elbridge Gerry,
Francis Dana,
James Lovell,
Samuel Holten.

RHODE ISLAND.

William Ellery,
Henry Marchant,
John Collins.

CONNECTICUT.

Roger Sherman,
Samuel Huntington,
Oliver Wolcott,
Titus Hosmer,
Andrew Adams.

NEW YORK.

James Duane,
Francis Lewis,
William Duer,
Gouverneur Morris.

NEW JERSEY.

John Witherspoon,
Nath. Scudder.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Robert Morris,
Daniel Roberdeau,
Jonathan Bayard Smith,
William Clingan,
Joseph Reed.

DELAWARE.

Thomas M'Kean,
John Dickinson,
Nicholas Van Dyke.

MARYLAND.

John Hanson,
Daniel Carroll.

VIRGINIA.

Richard Henry Lee,
John Banister,
Thomas Adams,
John Harvie,
Francis Lightfoot Lee.

NORTH CAROLINA.

John Penn,
Constable Harnett,
John Williams.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

Henry Laurens,
William Henry Drayton,
John Matthews,
Richard Hutson,
Thomas Heyward, jr.

GEORGIA.

John Walton,
Edward Telfair,
Edward Langworthy.

NOTE IX.—PAGE 354.

A FRAGMENT OF POLYBIUS.

[From his Treatise on the Athenian Government.]

This was presented by Sir William Jones to Dr. Franklin at Paris, about the last of June, 1782. *It was no doubt drawn by him, and was supposed to be an indirect mode of sounding Dr. Franklin, as to terms of accommodatiom with Great Britain, short of an express and open acknowledgment of the independence of the United States.*

ATHENS had long been an object of universal admiration, and consequently of envy; her navy was invincible, her commerce extensive; Europe and Asia supplied her with wealth; of her citizens, all were intrepid, many virtuous; but some too much infected with principles unfavorable to freedom. Hence an oligarchy was, in a great measure, established; crooked counsels were thought supreme wisdom; and the Athenians, having lost their true relish for their own freedom, began to attack that of their colonies, and of the states which they had before protected! Their arrogant claims of unlimited dominion had compelled the Chians, Coans, Rhodians, Lesbians, to join with nine other small communities in the social war, which they began with inconceivable ardor, and continued with industry surpassing all example, and almost surpassing belief. They were openly assisted by Mausolus, king of Caria, to whose metropolis the united islands had sent a philosopher named Eleutherion, eminent for the deepest knowledge of nature, the most solid judgment, most approved virtue, and most ardent zeal for the cause of general liberty. The war had been supported for three years with infinite exertions of valor on both sides, with deliberate firmness on the part of the allies, and with unabated violence on the part of the Athenians, who had nevertheless dispatched commissioners to Rhodes with intent to propose terms of accommodation; but the states (perhaps too pertinaciously) refused to hear any proposal whatever, without a previous recognition of their total independence by the magistrates and people of Athens. It was not long after this that an Athenian, who had been a pupil of Isæus together with Demosthenes, and began to be known in his country as a pleader of causes, was led by some affair of his clients to the capital of Caria. He was a man, unauthorized, unemployed, unconnected, independent in his circumstances as much as in his principles, admitting no governor under Providence but the laws, and no laws but those which justice and virtue had dictated, which wisdom approved, which his country had freely enacted. He had been known at Athens to the sage Eleutherion; and their acquaintance being renewed, he sometimes took occasion in their conversations to lament the increasing calamities of war, and to express his eager desire of making a general peace on such terms as would produce the greatest good from the greatest evil; for "this," said he, "would be a work

not unworthy of the divine attributes, and if mortals could effect it, they would act like those beneficent beings whom Socrates believed to be the constant friends and attendants of our species."

He added, "As to the united nations, I applaud, admire, and almost envy them; I am even tempted to wish that I had been born a Chian or a Rhodian; but let them be satisfied with the prize of virtue which they have already obtained. I will yield to none of your countrymen, my friend, in my love of liberty; but she seems more lovely to my eyes, when she comes hand in hand with peace. From that union we can expect nothing but the highest happiness of which our nature is capable; and it is an union which nothing now obstructs but a mere word.

"Let the confederates be contented with the substance of that independence which they have asserted, and the word will necessarily follow.

"Let them not hurt the natural, and perhaps not reprehensible, pride of Athens, nor demand any concession that may sink in the eyes of Greece, a nation to whom they are and must be united in language, in blood, in manners, in interest, in principles. Glory is to a nation what reputation is to an individual; it is not an empty sound, but important and essential. It will be glorious in Athens to acknowledge her error in attempting to reduce the islands; but an acknowledgment of her inability to reduce them (if she be unable) will be too public a confession of weakness, and her rank among the states of Greece will instantly be lowered.

"But whatever I might advise, if my advice had any chance of being taken, this I know, and positively pronounce, that while Athens is Athens, her proud but brave citizens will never expressly recognise the independence of the islands: their resources are no doubt exhaustible, but will not be exhausted in the lives of us and of our children. In this resolution all parties agree: I, who am of no party, dissent from them; but what is a single voice in so vast a multitude? Yet the independence of the United States was tacitly acknowledged by the very offer of terms, and it would result in silence from the natural operation of the treaty. An express acknowledgment of it is merely formal with respect to the allies; but the prejudices of mankind have made it substantial with respect to Athens.

"Let this obstacle be removed: it is slight, but fatal; and whilst it lasts, thousands and ten thousands will perish. In war much will always depend upon blind chance, and a storm or sudden fall of snow may frustrate all your efforts for liberty; but let commissioners from both sides meet, and the islanders, by not insisting on a preliminary recognition of independence, will ultimately establish it for ever.

"But independence is not disunion. Chios, Cos, Lesbos, Rhodes, are united, but independent on each other: they are connected by a common tie, but have different forms and different constitutions. They are gems of various colors and various properties, strung in one bracelet. Such an union can only be made between states, which, how widely soever they differ in form, agree in one common

property, freedom. Republics may form alliances, but not a federal union, with arbitrary monarchies. Were Athens governed by the will of a monarch, she could never be co-ordinate with the free islands ; for such an union would not be dissimilarity but dissonance ; but she is and shall be ruled by laws alone, that is, by the will of the people, which is the only law. Her Archon, even when he was perpetual, had no essential properties of monarchy. The constitution of Athens, if we must define it, was then a republic with a perpetual administrator of its laws. Between Athens, therefore, and the freest states in the world, a union may naturally be formed.

" There is a natural union between her and the islands which the gods have made, and which the powers of hell cannot dissolve. Men speaking the same idiom, educated in the same manner, perhaps in the same place, professing the same principles, sprung from the same ancestors, in no very remote degree ; and related to each other in a thousand modes of consanguinity, affinity, and friendship, such men (whatever they may say through a temporary resentment) can never in their hearts consider one another as aliens.

" Let them meet then with fraternal and pacific dispositions, and let this be the general ground-work and plan of the treaty.

1. " The Carians shall be included in the pacification, and have such advantages as will induce them to consent to the treaty rather than continue a hazardous war.

2. " The archon, senate, and magistrates of Athens shall make a complete recognition of rights of all the Athenian citizens of all orders whatever, and all former laws for that purpose shall be combined in one. There shall not be one slave in Attica.

Note. " [By making this a preliminary, the islanders will show their affection for the people of Athens : their friendship will be cemented and fixed on a solid basis ; and the greatest good will be extracted, as I at first proposed, from the greatest evil.]

3. " There shall be a perfect co-ordination between Athens and the thirteen united islands, they considering her not as a parent, whom they must obey, but as an elder sister, whom they cannot help loving, and to whom they shall give pre-eminence of honor and co-equality of power.

4. " The new constitutions of the confederate islands shall remain.

5. " On every occasion requiring acts for the general good, there shall be an assembly of deputies from the senate of Athens and the congress of the islands, who shall fairly adjust the whole business, and settle the ratio of the contributions on both sides. This committee shall consist of fifty islanders and fifty Athenians, or of a smaller number chosen by them.

6. " If it be thought necessary and found convenient, a proportionable number of Athenian citizens shall have seats, and power of debating and voting on questions of common concern, in the great assembly of the islands, and a proportionable number of islanders shall sit with the like power in the assembly at Athens.

NOTE. " [This reciprocal representation will cement the union.

7. " There shall be no obligation to make war but for the common interest.

8. " Commerce shall flow in a free course for the general advantage of the united powers.

9. " An universal unlimited amnesty shall be proclaimed in every part of Greece and Asia.

" This," said the Athenian, " is the rough sketch of a treaty founded on virtue and liberty. The idea of it still fills and expands my soul; and if it cannot be realized, I shall not think it less glorious, but shall only grieve more and more at the perverseness of mankind. May the eternal Being, whom the wise and the virtuous adore, and whose attribute it is to convert into good that evil which his unsearchable wisdom permits, inspire all ranks of men to promote either this or a similar plan! If this be impracticable, O miserable human nature! But I am fully confident that if * * * more at large * * happiness of all."

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No more is extant of this interesting piece, upon which the commentary of the sage Polybius would have been particularly valuable in these times.

NOTE IX.—PAGE 355.

DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE.

THE definitive treaty of peace and friendship between his Britannic majesty and the United States of America, signed at Paris, the 3d day of September, 1783.

In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity.

It having pleased the Divine Providence to dispose the hearts of the most serene and most potent prince, George the Third, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg, arch-treasurer and prince elector of the holy Roman empire, &c., and of the United States of America, to forget all past misunderstandings and differences that have unhappily interrupted the good correspondence and friendship which they mutually wish to restore, and to establish such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries, upon the ground of reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience, as may promote and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony; and having for this desirable end already laid the foundation of peace and reconciliation, by the provisional articles signed at Paris, on the 30th of November, 1782, by the commissioners empowered on each part; which articles were agreed to be inserted in, and to constitute the treaty of peace proposed to be concluded between the crown of Great Britain and the said United States, but which treaty was not to be concluded until terms of peace should be agreed upon between Great Britain and France, and his Britannic majesty should

be ready to conclude such treaty accordingly; and the treaty between Great Britain and France having since been concluded, his Britannic majesty and the United States of America, in order to carry into full effect the provisional articles above mentioned, according to the tenor thereof, have constituted and appointed; that is to say, his Britannic majesty on his part, David Hartley, Esq., member of the parliament of Great Britain; and the said United States on their part, John Adams, Esq., late a Commissioner of the United States of America at the court of Versailles, late delegate in Congress from the State of Massachusetts, and chief justice of the said State, and minister plenipotentiary of the said United States to their high mightinesses the States General of the United Netherlands; Benjamin Franklin, Esq., late delegate in Congress from the State of Pennsylvania, president of the convention of the said State, and minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America at the court of Versailles; and John Jay, Esq., late President of Congress, and chief justice of the State of New York, and minister plenipotentiary from the said United States at the court of Madrid; to be the plenipotentiaries for the concluding and signing the present definitive treaty, who, after having reciprocally communicated their respective full powers, have agreed upon and confirmed the following articles.

ARTICLE I.

His Britannic majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz. New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be free, sovereign, and independent States; that he treats with them as such, and for himself, his heirs, and successors, relinquishes all claim to the government, proprietary, and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof.

ARTICLE II.

And that all disputes which might arise in future on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are and shall be their boundaries, viz. From the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of St. Croix river to the high lands, along the said high lands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the northwesternmost head of Connecticut river; thence drawn along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence by a line due west on said latitude, until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraquy; thence along the middle of said river into Lake Ontario; through the middle of said lake, until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and Lake Erie; thence along the middle of the said communication into Lake Erie, through the middle of said lake, until it arrives at the water communication

between that lake and Lake Huron ; thence through the middle of said lake, to the water communication between that lake and Lake Superior; thence through Lake Superior northward to the isles Royal and Philipeaux, to the Long Lake ; thence through the middle of said Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods ; thence through the said lake to the most north-westernmost point thereof, and from thence a due west course to the river Mississippi ; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi, until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude ; south, by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Catahouche ; thence along the middle thereof, to its junction with the Flint river ; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's river, to the Atlantic ocean ; east, by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix, from its mouth in the bay of Fundy to its source, and from its source directly north to the aforesaid high lands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean from those which fall into the river St. Lawrence, comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova Scotia on the one part and East Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the bay of Fundy and the Atlantic ocean, excepting such islands as now are or heretofore have been within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia.

ARTICLE III.

It is agreed that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy unmolested, the right to take fish of every kind on the Great Bank, and on all the other banks of Newfoundland ; also in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish ; and also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland as British fishermen shall use (but not to dry or cure the same on that island), and also on the coasts, bays, and creeks, of all other of his Britannic majesty's dominions in America ; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbors, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands, and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled ; but so soon as the same shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement, without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground.

ARTICLE IV.

It is agreed, that the creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money of all *bonâ fide* debts herefotore contracted.

ARTICLE V.

It is agreed that Congress shall earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of the respective States, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects; and also of the estates, rights, and properties, of persons resident in districts in the possession of his majesty's arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States; and that persons of any other description shall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmolested in their endeavors to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights, and properties, as may have been confiscated; and that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States a reconsideration and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation which, on the return of the blessings of peace, should invariably prevail; and that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several States, that the estates, rights, and properties of such last mentioned persons, shall be restored to them, they refunding to any persons who may be now in possession, the *bonâ fide* price (where any has been given), which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights, or properties, since the confiscation.

And it is agreed, that all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage settlements, or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights.

ARTICLE VI.

That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons, for or by reason of the part which he or they may have taken in the present war; and that no person shall on that account suffer any future loss or damage, either in his person, liberty, or property; and that those who may be in confinement on such charges, at the time of the ratification of the treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecutions so commenced be discontinued.

ARTICLE VII.

There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic majesty and the said United States, and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other; wherefore all hostilities, both by sea and land, shall from henceforth cease; all prisoners, on both sides, shall be set at liberty; and his Britannic majesty shall, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets, from the said United States, and from every post, place, and harbor within the same, leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein; and shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds,

and papers belonging to any of the said States, or their citizens, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored, and delivered to the proper States and persons to whom they belong.

ARTICLE VIII.

The navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall for ever remain free and open to the subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE IX.

In case it should so happen, that any place or territory, belonging to Great Britain or to the United States, should have been conquered by the arms of either from the other, before the arrival of the said provincial articles in America, it is agreed that the same shall be restored without difficulty and without requiring any compensation.

ARTICLE X.

The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, expedited in good and due form, shall be exchanged between the contracting parties in the space of six months, or sooner, if possible, to be computed from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, their ministers plenipotentiary, have in their name, and in virtue of our full powers, signed with our hands the present definitive treaty, and caused the seals of our arms to be affixed thereto.

Done at Paris, this third day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

DAVID HARTLEY. (L. S.)
JOHN ADAMS. (L. S.)
B. FRANKLIN. (L. S.)
JOHN JAY. (L. S.)

NOTE XI.—PAGE 357.

NEWBURGH ADDRESS, AND WASHINGTON'S SPEECH

TO THE OFFICERS OF THE ARMY.

GENTLEMEN:—A fellow-soldier, whose interests and affections bind him strongly to you, whose past sufferings have been as great, and whose future fortunes may be as desperate as yours, would beg leave to address you. Age has its claims, and rank is not without its pretensions to advise; but, though unsupported by both, he flatters himself that the plain language of sincerity and experience will neither be unheard nor unregarded.

Like many of you, he loved private life, and left it with regret.

He left it, determined to retire from the field with the necessity that called him to it, and not till then—not till the enemies of his country, the slaves of power, and the hirelings of injustice, were compelled to abandon their schemes, and acknowledge America as terrible in arms as she had been humble in remonstrance. With this object in view, he has long shared in your toils, and mingled in your dangers. He has felt the cold hand of poverty without a murmur, and has seen the insolence of wealth without a sigh. But, too much under the direction of his wishes, and sometimes weak enough to mistake desire for opinion, he has till lately, very lately, believed in the justice of his country. He hoped that, as the clouds of adversity scattered, and as the sunshine of peace and better fortune broke in upon us, the coldness and severity of government would relax, and that more than justice, that gratitude, would blaze forth upon those hands which had upheld her, in the darkest stages of her passage, from impending servitude to acknowledged independence. But faith has its limits as well as temper, and there are points beyond which neither can be stretched without sinking into cowardice or plunging into credulity. This, my friends, I conceive to be your situation. Hurried to the very verge of both, another step would ruin you for ever. To be tame and unprovoked when injuries press hard upon you, is more than weakness; but to look up for kinder usage, without one manly effort of your own, would fix your character, and show the world how richly you deserve those chains you broke. To guard against this evil, let us take a review of the ground upon which we now stand, and thence carry our thoughts forward for a moment into the unexplored field of expedient. After a pursuit of seven long years, the object for which we set out is at length brought within our reach. Yes, my friends, that suffering courage of yours was active once—it has conducted the United States of America through a doubtful and a bloody war; it has placed her in the chair of independence, and peace returns again—to bless whom? A country willing to redress your wrongs, cherish your worth, and reward your services? A country courting your return to private life with tears of gratitude and smiles of admiration —longing to divide with you the independency which your gallantry has given, and those riches which your wounds have preserved? Is this the case? or is it rather a country that tramples upon your rights, disdains your cries, and insults your distresses? Have you not more than once suggested your wishes, and made known your wants, to Congress—wants and wishes which gratitude and policy should have anticipated rather than evaded? And have you not lately, in the meek language of entreating memorials, begged from their justice what you could no longer expect from their favor? How have you been answered? Let the letter which you are called to consider to-morrow reply.

If this then be your treatment while the swords you wear are necessary for the defence of America, what have you to expect from peace, when your voice shall sink, and your strength dissipate, by division—when those very swords, the instruments and companions

of your glory, shall be taken from your sides, and no remaining mark of military distinction left but your wants, infirmities, and scars? Can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution; and, retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness, and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency, and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honor? If you can, go, and carry with you the jest of tories and the scorn of whigs; the ridicule, and, what is worse, the pity, of the world! Go, starve, and be forgotten! But, if your spirit should revolt at this—if you have sense enough to discover, and spirit enough to oppose tyranny, under whatever garb it may assume, whether it be the plain coat of republicanism or the splendid robe of royalty—if you have yet learned to discriminate between a people and a cause, between men and principles—awake, attend to your situation, and redress yourselves! If the present moment be lost, every future effort is in vain, and your threats then will be as empty as your entreaties now.

I would advise you, therefore, to come to some final opinion upon what you can bear, and what you will suffer. If your determination be in any proportion to your wrongs, carry your appeal from the justice, to the fears, of government. Change the milk-and-water style of your last memorial; assume a bolder tone, decent, but lively, spirited, and determined; and suspect the man who would advise to more moderation and longer forbearance. Let two or three men, who can feel as well as write, be appointed to draw up your last *remonstrance;* for I would no longer give it the suing, soft, unsuccessful epithet of *memorial.* Let it be represented, in language that will neither dishonor you by its rudeness nor betray you by its fears, what has been promised by Congress, and what has been performed; how long and how patiently you have suffered; how little you have asked, and how much of that little has been denied. Tell them that though you were the first, and would wish to be the last, to encounter danger, though despair itself can never drive you into dishonor, it may drive you from the field; that the wound, often irritated, and never healed, may at length become incurable; and that the slightest mark of malignity from Congress, now, must operate like the grave, and part you for ever. That, in any political event, the army has its alternative; if peace, that nothing shall separate you from your arms but death; if war, that courting the auspices and inviting the directions of your illustrious leader, you will retire to some unsettled country, smile in your turn, and "mock when their fear cometh on." But let it represent also, that should they comply with the request of your late memorial, it would make you more happy, and them more respectable. That while war should continue, you would follow their standard into the field; and when it came to an end, you would withdraw into the shade of private life, and give the world another subject of wonder and applause—an army victorious over its enemies, victorious over itself.

GENERAL WASHINGTON'S SPEECH AT THE MEETING OF OFFICERS.

GENTLEMEN:—By an anonymous summons an attempt has been made to convene you together; how inconsistent with the rules of propriety, how unmilitary, and how subversive of all order and discipline, let the good sense of the army decide. In the moment of this summons, another anonymous production was sent into circulation, addressed more to the feelings and passions than to the judgment of the army. The author of the piece is entitled to much credit for the goodness of his pen; and I could wish he had as much credit for the rectitude of his heart; for, as men see through different optics, and are induced by the reflecting faculties of the mind to use different means to attain the same end, the author of the address should have had more charity than to mark for suspicion the man who should recommend moderation and longer forbearance; or, in other words, who should not think as he thinks, and act as he advises.

But he had another plan in view, in which candor and liberality of sentiment, regard to justice, and love of country, have no part; and he was right to insinuate the darkest suspicion to effect the blackest design. That the address was drawn with great art, and is designed to answer the most insidious purposes; that it is calculated to impress the mind with an idea of premeditated injustice in the sovereign power of the United States, and rouse all the resentments which must unavoidably flow from such a belief; that the secret mover of this scheme, whoever he may be, intended to take advantage of the passions while they were warmed by the recollection of past distresses, without giving time for cool, deliberate thinking, and that composure of mind which is so necessary to give dignity and stability to measures, is rendered too obvious, by the mode of conducting the business, to need other proofs than a reference to the proceedings.

Thus much, gentlemen, I have thought it incumbent on me to observe to you, to show upon what principles I opposed the irregular and hasty meeting which was proposed to have been held on Tuesday last, and not because I wanted a disposition to give you every opportunity, consistent with your own honor and the dignity of the army, to make known your grievances. If my conduct, therefore, has not evinced to you that I have been a faithful friend to the army, my declaration of it at this time would be equally unavailing and improper. But, as I was among the first who embarked in the cause of our common country; as I have never left your side one moment, but when called from you on public duty; as I have been the constant companion and witness of your distresses, and not among the last to feel and acknowledge your merits; as I have ever considered my own military reputation as inseparably connected with that of the army; as my heart has ever expanded with joy when I have heard its praises, and my indignation has arisen when the

mouth of detraction has been opened against it; it can scarcely be supposed, at this stage of the war, that I am indifferent to its interests. But how are they to be promoted? The way is plain, says the anonymous addresser. If war continues, remove into the unsettled country; there establish yourselves, and leave an ungrateful country to defend itself. But who are they to defend? Our wives, our children, our farms, and other property which we leave behind us? or, in this state of hostile preparation, are we to take the first two (the latter cannot be removed), to perish in the wilderness, with hunger, cold, and nakedness?

If peace takes place, never sheathe your sword, says he, until you have obtained full and ample justice. This dreadful alternative of either deserting our country in the extremest hour of her distress, or turning our arms against it, which is the apparent object, unless Congress can be compelled into instant compliance, has something so shocking in it, that humanity revolts at the idea. My God! what can this writer have in view by recommending such measures? Can he be a friend to the army? Can he be a friend to this country? Rather, is he not an insidious foe; some emissary, perhaps, from New York, plotting the ruin of both, by sowing the seeds of discord and separation between the civil and military powers of the continent? And what a compliment does he pay to our understandings, when he recommends measures, in either alternative, impracticable in their nature?

But here, gentlemen, I will drop the curtain, because it would be as imprudent in me to assign my reasons for this opinion, as it would be insulting to your conception to suppose you stood in need of them. A moment's reflection will convince every dispassionate mind of the physical impossibility of carrying either proposal into execution. There might, gentlemen, be an impropriety in my taking notice, in this address to you, of an anonymous production; but the manner in which that performance has been introduced to the army, the effect it was intended to have, together with some other circumstances, will amply justify my observations on the tendency of that writing.

With respect to the advice given by the author, to suspect the man who should recommend moderate measures, I spurn it, as every man, who regards that liberty and reveres that justice for which we contend, undoubtedly must; for, if men are to be precluded from offering their sentiments on a matter which may involve the most serious and alarming consequences that can invite the consideration of mankind, reason is of no use to us. The freedom of speech may be taken away, and dumb and silent we may be led like sheep to the slaughter. I cannot in justice to my own belief, and what I have great reason to conceive is the intention of Congress, conclude this address, without giving it as my decided opinion, that that honorable body entertains exalted sentiments of the services of the army, and, from a full conviction of its merits and sufferings, will do it complete justice. That their endeavors to discover and establish funds for this purpose have been unwearied, and will not

cease till they have succeeded, I have not a doubt; but, like all other large bodies, where there is a variety of different interests to reconcile, their determinations are slow. Why, then, should we distrust them; and, in consequence of that distrust, adopt measures which may cast a shade over that glory which has been so justly acquired, and tarnish the reputation of an army which is celebrated through all Europe for its fortitude and patriotism? And for what is this done? To bring the object we seek nearer? No; most certainly, in my opinion, it will cast it at a greater distance. For myself (and I take no merit for giving the assurance, being induced to it from principles of gratitude, veracity, and justice, and a grateful sense of the confidence you have ever placed in me), a recollection of the cheerful assistance and prompt obedience I have experienced from you under every vicissitude of fortune, and the sincere affection I feel for an army I have so long had the honor to command, will oblige me to declare, in this public and solemn manner, that in the attainment of complete justice for all your toils and dangers, and in the gratification of every wish, so far as may be done consistently with the great duty I owe to my country, and those powers we are bound to respect, you may freely command my services to the utmost extent of my abilities.

While I give you these assurances, and pledge myself in the most unequivocal manner to exert whatever abilities I am possessed of in your favor, let me entreat you, gentlemen, on your part, not to take any measures which, viewed in the calm light of reason, will lessen the dignity, and sully the glory, you have hitherto maintained. Let me request you to rely on the plighted faith of your country, and place a full confidence in the purity of the intentions of Congress, that, previous to your dissolution as an army, they will cause all your accounts to be fairly liquidated, as directed in the resolutions which were published to you two days ago; and that they will adopt the most effectual measures in their power to render ample justice to you for your faithful and meritorious services. And let me conjure you, in the name of our common country, as you value your own sacred honor, as you respect the rights of humanity, and as you regard the military and national character of America, to express your utmost horror and detestation of the man who wishes, under any specious pretences, to overturn the liberties of our country; and who wickedly attempts to open the flood-gates of civil discord, and deluge our rising empire in blood.

By thus determining, and thus acting, you will pursue the plain and direct road to the attainment of your wishes; you will defeat the insidious designs of our enemies, who are compelled to resort from open force to secret artifice; you will give one more distinguished proof of unexampled patriotism and patient virtue rising superior to the pressure of the most complicated sufferings; and you will, by the dignity of your conduct, afford occasion for posterity to say, when speaking of the glorious example you have exhibited to mankind: "Had this day been wanting, the world had never seen the last stage of perfection to which human nature is capable of attaining."

NOTE XII.—PAGE. 358.

A CIRCULAR LETTER

From his Excellency George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of the United States of America, to the Governors of the several States.

HEAD-QUARTERS, NEWBURG, JUNE 18, 1783.

SIR,—The great object for which I had the honor to hold an appointment in the service of my country being accomplished, I am now preparing to resign it into the hands of Congress, and return to that domestic retirement, which it is well known I left with the greatest reluctance ; a retirement for which I have never ceased to sigh through a long and painful absence, in which (remote from the noise and trouble of the world) I meditate to pass the remainder of life, in a state of undisturbed repose : but before I carry this resolution into effect, I think it a duty incumbent on me to make this my last official communication, to congratulate you on the glorious events which Heaven has been pleased to produce in our favor, to offer my sentiments respecting some important subjects, which appear to me to be intimately connected with the tranquillity of the United States, to take my leave of your Excellency as a public character, and to give my final blessing to that country in whose service I have spent the prime of my life ; for whose sake I have consumed so many anxious days and watchful nights, and whose happiness, being extremely dear to me, will always constitute no inconsiderable part of my own.

Impressed with the liveliest sensibility on this pleasing occasion, I will claim the indulgence of dilating the more copiously on the subject of our mutual felicitation. When we consider the magnitude of the prize we contended for, the doubtful nature of the contest, and the favorable manner in which it has terminated ; we shall find the greatest possible reason for gratitude and rejoicing ; this is a theme that will afford infinite delight to every benevolent and liberal mind, whether the event in contemplation be considered as a source of present enjoyment, or the parent of future happiness ; and we shall have equal occasion to felicitate ourselves on the lot which Providence has assigned us, whether we view it in a natural, a political, or moral point of view.

The citizens of America, placed in the most enviable condition, as the sole lords and proprietors of a vast tract of continent, comprehending all the various soils and climates of the world, and abounding with all the necessaries and conveniences of life, are now, by the late satisfactory pacification, acknowledged to be possessed of absolute freedom and independency ; they are from this period to be considered as the actors on a most conspicuous theatre, which seems to be peculiarly designed by Providence for the display of human greatness and felicity : here they are not only surrounded with everything that can contribute to the completion of private and domestic enjoy-

ment, but Heaven has crowned all its other blessings by giving a surer opportunity for political happiness than any other nation has ever been favored with. Nothing can illustrate these observations more forcibly than the recollection of the happy conjuncture of times and circumstances under which our Republic assumed its rank among the nations. The foundation of our empire has not been laid in a gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at an epocha when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period : researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent : the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labors of philosophers, sages, and legislators, through a long succession of years, are laid open for use, and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government : the free cultivation of letters, the unbounded extension of commerce, the progressive refinement of manners, the growing liberality of sentiment, and above all, the pure and benign light of revelation, have had a meliorating influence on mankind, and increased the blessings of society. At this auspicious period the United States came into existence as a nation, and if their citizens should not be completely free and happy, the fault will be entirely their own.

Such is our situation, and such are our prospects ; but notwithstanding the cup of blessing is thus reached out to us—notwithstanding happiness is ours, if we have a disposition to seize the occasion and make it our own ; yet it appears to me there is an option still left to the United States of America, whether they will be respectable and prosperous, or contemptible and miserable as a nation. This is the time of their political probation ; this is the moment when the eyes of the whole world are turned upon them ; this is the time to establish or ruin their national character for ever ; this is the favorable moment to give such a tone to the Federal Government as will enable it to answer the ends of its institution ; or this may be the ill fated moment for relaxing the powers of the Union, annihilating the cement of the Confederation, and exposing us to become the sport of European politics, which may play one State against another, to prevent their growing importance, and to serve their own interested purposes. For, according to the system of policy the States shall adopt at this moment, they will stand or fall ; and by their confirmation or lapse, it is yet to be decided whether the revolution must ultimately be considered as a blessing or a curse ; a blessing or a curse not to the present age alone, for with our fate will the destiny of unborn millions be involved.

With this conviction of the importance of the present crisis, silence in me would be a crime. I will therefore speak to your Excellency the language of freedom and sincerity, without disguise. I am aware, however, those who differ from me in political sentiments may perhaps remark, I am stepping out of the proper line of my duty ; and they may possibly ascribe to arrogance or ostentation, what I know is alone the result of the purest intention ; but the rectitude of my own heart, which disdains such unworthy motives—the

part I have hitherto acted in life—the determination I have formed of not taking any share in public business hereafter—the ardent desire I feel and shall continue to manifest, of quietly enjoying in private life, after all the toils of war, the benefits of a wise and liberal government, will, I flatter myself, sooner or later convince my countrymen, that I could have no sinister views in delivering, with so little reserve, the opinions contained in this address.

There are four things which I humbly conceive are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States, as an independent power.

1st. An indissoluble union of the States under one federal head.

2dly. A sacred regard to public justice.

3dly. The adoption of a proper peace establishment. And,

4thly. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and politics, to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity, and in some instances to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.

These are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independence and national character must be supported. Liberty is the basis, and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured country.

On the three first articles I will make a few observations, leaving the last to the good sense and serious consideration of those immediately concerned.

Under the first head, although it may not be necessary or proper for me in this place to enter into a particular disquisition of the principles of the Union, and to take up the great question which has been frequently agitated, whether it be expedient and requisite for the States to delegate a large proportion of power to Congress or not; yet it will be a part of my duty, and that of every true patriot, to assert without reserve, and to insist upon the following positions. That unless the States will suffer Congress to exercise those prerogatives they are undoubtedly invested with by the constitution, everything must very rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion. That it is indispensable to the happiness of the individual States that there should be lodged somewhere a supreme power, to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the union cannot be of long duration. There must be a faithful and pointed compliance on the part of every State with the late proposals and demands of Congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue. That whatever measures have a tendency to dissolve the union, or contribute to violate or lessen the sovereign authority, ought to be considered as hostile to the liberty and independence of America, and the authors of them treated accordingly. And lastly, that unless we can be enabled by the concurrence of the States to participate in the fruits of the revolution, and enjoy the essential

benefits of civil society, under a form of government so free and uncorrupted, so happily guarded against the danger of oppression, as has been devised and adopted by the articles of confederation, it will be the subject of regret that so much blood and treasure have been lavished for no purpose ; that so many sufferings have been counteracted without a compensation, and that so many sacrifices have been made in vain. Many other considerations might here be adduced to prove, that without an entire conformity to the spirit of the Union, we cannot exist as an independent power. It will be sufficient for my purpose to mention but one or two, which seem to me of the greatest importance. It is only in our united character, as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported among foreign nations. The treaties of the European powers with the United States of America will have no validity on the dissolution of the Union. We shall be left nearly in a state of nature, or we may find by our own unhappy experience, that there is a natural and necessary progression from the extreme of anarchy to the extreme of tyranny ; and that arbitrary power is most easily established on the ruins of liberty abused to licentiousness.

As to the second article, which respects the performance of public justice, Congress have, in their late address to the United States, almost exhausted the subject ; they have explained their ideas so fully, and have enforced the obligations the States are under to render complete justice to all the public creditors, with so much dignity and energy, that in my opinion no real friend to the honor and independency of America can hesitate a single moment respecting the propriety of complying with the just and honorable measures proposed. If their arguments do not produce conviction, I know of nothing that will have a greater influence, especially when we reflect that the system referred to, being the result of the collected wisdom of the continent, must be esteemed, if not perfect, certainly the least objectionable of any that could be devised ; and that if it should not be carried into immediate execution, a national bankruptcy, with all its deplorable consequences, will take place before any different plan can possibly be proposed or adopted ; so pressing are the present circumstances, and such the alternative now offered to the States.

The ability of the country to discharge the debts which have been incurred in its defence, is not to be doubted. An inclination, I flatter myself, will not be wanting ; the path of our duty is plain before us ; honesty will be found, on every experiment, to be the best and only true policy. Let us then as a nation be just ; let us fulfil the public contracts which Congress had undoubtedly a right to make for the purpose of carrying on the war, with the same good faith we suppose ourselves bound to perform our private engagements. In the meantime, let an attention to the cheerful performance of their proper business, as individuals and as members of society, be earnestly inculcated on the citizens of America ; then will they strengthen the bands of government, and be happy under its protection. Every one

will reap the fruit of his labors ; every one will enjoy his own acquisitions, without molestation and without danger.

In this state of absolute freedom and perfect security, who will grudge to yield a very little of his property to support the common interests of society, and ensure the protection of government? Who does not remember the frequent declarations at the commencement of the war, that we should be completely satisfied, if at the expense of one half, we could defend the remainder of our possessions? Where is the man to be found, who wishes to remain indebted for the defence of his own person and property to the exertions, the bravery, and the blood of others, without making one generous effort to pay the debt of honor and of gratitude? In what part of the continent shall we find any man, or body of men, who would not blush to stand up, and propose measures purposely calculated to rob the soldier of his stipend, and the public creditor of his due? And were it possible that such a flagrant instance of injustice could ever happen, would it not excite the general indignation, and tend to bring down upon the authors of such measures, the aggravated vengeance of heaven? If, after all, a spirit of disunion, or a temper of obstinacy and perverseness should manifest itself in any of the States; if such an ungracious disposition should attempt to frustrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the Union; if there should be a refusal to comply with the requisitions for funds to discharge the annual interest of the public debts, and if that refusal should revive all those jealousies, and produce all those evils which are now happily removed—Congress, who have in all their transactions shown a great degree of magnanimity and justice, will stand justified in the sight of God and man! And that State alone, which puts itself in opposition to the aggregate wisdom of the continent, and follows such mistaken and pernicious counsels, will be responsible for all the consequences.

For my own part, conscious of having acted while a servant of the public, in the manner I conceived best suited to promote the real interests of my country ; having, in consequence of my fixed belief, in some measure pledged myself to the army that their country would finally do them complete and ample justice, and not willing to conceal any instance of my official conduct from the eyes of the world, I have thought proper to transmit to your Excellency the enclosed collection of papers, relative to the half-pay and commutation granted by Congress to the officers of the army ; from these communications, my decided sentiments will be clearly comprehended, together with the conclusive reasons, which induced me at an early period, to recommend the adoption of this measure in the most earnest and serious manner. As the proceedings of Congress, the army, and myself are open to all, and contain, in my opinion, sufficient information to remove the prejudice and errors which may have been entertained by any, I think it unnecessary to say anything more, than just to observe, that the resolutions of Congress, now alluded to, are as undoubtedly and absolutely binding on the United States, as the most solemn acts of confederation or legislation.

As to the idea, which I am informed has, in some instances, prevailed, that the half-pay and commutation are to be regarded merely in the odious light of a pension, it ought to be exploded for ever; that provision should be viewed, as it really was, a reasonable compensation offered by Congress, at a time when they had nothing else to give to officers of the army, for services then to be performed: it was the only means to prevent a total dereliction of the service; it was a part of their hire. I may be allowed to say, it was the price of their blood, and of your independency; it is therefore more than a common debt, it is a debt of honor; it can never be considered as a pension or gratuity, nor cancelled until it is fairly discharged.

With regard to the distinction between officers and soldiers, it is sufficient that the uniform experience of every nation in the world, combined with our own, proves the utility and propriety of the discrimination. Rewards, in proportion to the aid the public draws from them, are unquestionably due to all its servants. In some lines, the soldiers have perhaps generally had as ample compensation for their services, by the large bounties which have been paid to them, as their officers will receive in the proposed commutation: in others, if, besides the donation of land, the payment of arrearages of clothing and wages (in which articles all the component parts of the army must be put upon the same footing) we take into the estimate the bounties many of the soldiers have received, and the gratuity of one year's full pay, which is promised to all, possibly their situation (every circumstance being duly considered) will not be deemed less eligible than that of the officers. Should a further reward, however, be judged equitable, I will venture to assert, no man will enjoy greater satisfaction than myself, in an exemption from taxes for a limited time (which has been petitioned for in some instances), or any other adequate immunity or compensation granted to the brave defenders of their country's cause; but neither the adoption nor rejection of this proposition will in any manner affect, much less militate against, the act of Congress, by which they have offered five years' full pay, in lieu of the half-pay for life, which had been before promised to the officers of the army.

Before I conclude the subject on public justice, I cannot omit to mention the obligations this country is under to that meritorious class of veterans, the non-commissioned officers and privates who have been discharged for inability, in consequence of the resolution of Congress, of the 23d of April, 1782, on an annual pension for life. Their peculiar sufferings, their singular merits and claims to that provision, need only to be known, to interest the feelings of humanity in their behalf. Nothing but a punctual payment of their annual allowance can rescue them from the most complicated misery; and nothing could be a more melancholy and distressing sight, than to behold those who have shed their blood, or lost their limbs in the service of their country, without a shelter, without a friend, and without the means of obtaining any of the comforts or necessaries of life, compelled to beg their daily bread from door to door. Suffer

me to recommend those of this description, belonging to your State, to the warmest patronage of your Excellency and your Legislature.

It is necessary to say but a few words on the third topic which was proposed, and which regards particularly the defence of the republic. As there can be little doubt but Congress will recommend a proper peace establishment for the United States, in which a due attention will be paid to the importance of placing the militia of the Union upon a regular and respectable footing; if this should be the case, I should beg leave to urge the great advantage of it in the strongest terms.

The militia of this country must be considered as the palladium of our security, and the first effectual resort in case of hostility; it is essential, therefore, that the same system should pervade the whole; that the formation and discipline of the militia of the continent should be absolutely uniform; and that the same species of arms, accoutrements, and military apparatus, should be introduced in every part of the United States. No one, who has not learned it from experience, can conceive the difficulty, expense, and confusion which result from a contrary system, or the vague arrangements which have hitherto prevailed.

If, in treating of political points, a greater latitude than usual has been taken in the course of the Address, the importance of the crisis and magnitude of the objects in discussion, must be my apology; it is, however, neither my wish nor expectation, that the preceding observations should claim any regard, except so far as they shall appear to be dictated by a good intention, consonant to the immutable rules of justice, calculated to produce a liberal system of policy, and founded on whatever experience may have been acquired by a long and close attention to public business. Here I might speak with more confidence, from my actual observations; and if it would not swell this letter (already too prolix) beyond the bounds I had prescribed myself, I could demonstrate to every mind, open to conviction, that in less time, and with much less expense than has been incurred, the war might have been brought to the same happy conclusion, if the resources of the continent could have been properly called forth; that the distresses and disappointments which have very often occurred, have, in too many instances, resulted more from a want of energy in the continental government, than a deficiency of means in the particular States; that the inefficiency of the measures, arising from the want of an adequate authority in the supreme power, from a partial compliance with the requisitions of Congress in some of the States, and from a failure of punctuality in others, while they tended to damp the zeal of those who were more willing to exert themselves, served also to accumulate the expenses of the war, and to frustrate the best concerted plans; and that the discouragement occasioned by the complicated difficulties and embarrassments in which our affairs were by this means involved, would have long ago produced the dissolution of any army less patient, less virtuous, and less persevering than that which I have had the honor to command. But while I mention those things which are notorious facts, as the

defects of our Federal Constitution, particularly in the prosecution of a war, I beg it may be understood, that as I have ever taken a pleasure in gratefully acknowledging the assistance and support I have derived from every class of citizens; so shall I always be happy to do justice to the unparalleled exertions of the individual States, on many interesting occasions.

I have thus freely disclosed what I wished to make known before I surrendered up my public trust to those who committed it to me; the task is now accomplished. I now bid adieu to your Excellency, as the Chief Magistrate of your State; at the same time I bid a last farewell to the cares of office, and all the employments of public life.

It remains, then, to be my final and only request, that your Excellency will communicate these sentiments to your legislature, at their next meeting, and that they may be considered as the legacy of one who has ardently wished, on all occasions, to be useful to his country, and who, even in the shade of retirement, will not fail to implore the divine benediction upon it.

I now make it my earnest prayer that God would have you, and the State over which you preside, in his holy protection; that he would incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government; to entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another; for their fellow-citizens of the United States at large; and particularly for their brethren who have served in the field; and, finally, that he would most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, to love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of the mind, which were the characteristics of the divine Author of our blessed religion; without an humble imitation of whose example, in these things, we can never hope to be a happy nation.

I have the honor to be, with much esteem and respect, Sir, your Excellency's most obodient and most humble servant,

G. WASHINGTON.

NOTE XIII.—PAGE 358.

FAREWELL ORDERS

OF GENL. WASHINGTON TO THE ARMIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

ROCKY HILL, NEAR PRINCETON, Nov. 2, 1783.

THE United States in Congress assembled, after giving the most honorable testimony to the merits of the federal armies, and presenting them with the thanks of their country, for their long, eminent, and faithful service, having thought proper, by their proclamation bearing date the 16th of October last, to discharge such part of the troops as were engaged for the war, and to permit the officers on furlough to retire from service, from and after to-morrow, which pro-

clamation having been communicated in the public papers for the information and government of all concerned; it only remains for the Commander-in-chief to address himself once more, and that for the last time, to the armies of the United States (however widely dispersed individuals who compose them may be), and to bid them an affectionate, a long farewell.

But before the Commander-in-chief takes his final leave of those he holds most dear, he wishes to indulge himself a few moments in calling to mind a slight review of the past;—he will then take the liberty of exploring, with his military friends, their future prospects; of advising the general line of conduct which in his opinion ought to be pursued; and he will conclude the Address, by expressing the obligations he feels himself under for the spirited and able assistance he has experienced from them, in the performance of an arduous office.

A contemplation of the complete attainment (at a period earlier than could have been expected) of the object for which we contended against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The singular interpositions of Providence in our feeble condition, were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving—while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle.

It is not the meaning, nor within the compass of this Address, to detail the hardships peculiarly incident to our service, or to describe the distresses which in several instances have resulted from the extremes of hunger and nakedness, combined with the rigors of an inclement season: nor is it necessary to dwell on the dark side of our past affairs. Every American officer and soldier must now console himself for any unpleasant circumstances which may have occurred by a recollection of the uncommon scenes in which he has been called to act no inglorious part, and the astonishing events of which he has been a witness; events which have seldom, if ever before, taken place on the stage of human action, nor can they probably ever happen again. For who has before seen a disciplined army formed at once from such raw materials? Who that was not a witness could imagine that the most violent local prejudices would cease so soon, and that men who came from different parts of the continent, strongly disposed by the habits of education to despise and quarrel with each other, would instantly become but one patriotic band of brothers? Or who that was not on the spot, can trace the steps by which such a wonderful revolution has been effected, and such a glorious period put to all our warlike toils?

It is universally acknowledged, that the enlarged prospects of happiness, opened by the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, almost exceed the power of description; and shall not the brave men who have contributed so essentially to these inesti-

mable acquisitions, retiring victorious from the field of war to the field of agriculture, participate in all the blessings which have been obtained? In such a republic, who will exclude them from the rights of citizens, and the fruits of their labors? In such a country, so happily circumstanced, the pursuits of commerce and the cultivation of the soil, will unfold to industry the certain road to competence. To those hardy soldiers who are actuated by the spirit of adventure, the fisheries will afford ample and profitable employment; and the extensive and fertile regions of the West will yield a most happy asylum for those who, fond of domestic enjoyment, are seeking personal independence. Nor is it possible to conceive that any one of the United States will prefer a national bankruptcy, and dissolution of the Union, to a compliance with the requisitions of Congress, and the payment of its just debts; so that the officers and soldiers may expect considerable assistance, in re-commencing their civil operations, from the sums due to them from the public, which must and will most inevitably be paid.

In order to effect this desirable purpose, and to remove the prejudices which may have taken possession of the minds of any of the good people of the States, it is earnestly recommended to all the troops, that, with strong attachments to the Union, they should carry with them into civil society the most conciliating dispositions; and that they should prove themselves not less virtuous and useful as citizens, than they have been persevering and victorious as soldiers. What though there should be some envious individuals who are unwilling to pay the debt the public has contracted, or to yield the tribute due to merit; yet let such unworthy treatment produce no invective, or any instance of intemperate conduct; let it be remembered that the unbiassed voice of the free citizens of the United States has promised the just reward, and given the merited applause; let it be known and remembered, that the reputation of the federal armies is established beyond the reach of malevolence; and let a consciousness of their achievements and fame still excite the men who composed them, to honorable actions, under the persuasion that the private virtues of economy, prudence, and industry, will not be less amiable in civil life, than the more splendid qualities of valor, perseverance, and enterprise were in the field. Every one may rest assured that much, very much of the future happiness of the officers and men will depend upon the wise and manly conduct which shall be adopted by them, when they are mingled with the great body of the community. And although the General has so frequently given it as his opinion, in the most public and explicit manner, that unless the principles of the Federal Government were properly supported, and the powers of the Union increased, the honor, dignity, and justice of the nation would be lost for ever; yet he cannot help repeating on this occasion so interesting a sentiment, and leaving it as his last injunction to every officer and every soldier who may view the subject in the same serious point of light, to add his best endeavors to those of his worthy fellow-citizens, towards

effecting these great and valuable purposes, on which our very existence as a nation so materially depends.

The Commander-in-chief conceives little is now wánting to enable the soldier to change the military character into that of a citizen, but that steady and decent tenor of behavior, which has generally distinguished not only the army under his immediate command, but the different detachments and separate armies, through the course of the war. From their good sense and prudence he anticipates the happiest consequences: and while he congratulates them on the glorious occasion which renders their services in the field no longer necessary, he wishes to express the strong obligations he feels himself under for the assistance he has received from every class, and in every instance. He presents his thanks, in the most serious and affectionate manner to the general officers, as well for their counsel on many interesting occasions, as for their ardor in promoting the success of the plans he had adopted; to the commandants of regiments and corps, and to the officers for their zeal and attention in carrying his orders promptly into execution; to the staff, for their alacrity and exactness in performing the duties of their several departments, and to the non-commissioned officers and private soldiers for their extraordinary patience in suffering, as well as their invincible fortitude in action. To various branches of the army the General takes this last and solemn opportunity of professing his inviolable attachment and friendship. He wishes more than bare profession were in his power, that he was really able to be useful to them all in future life. He flatters himself, however, they will do him the justice to believe, that whatever could with propriety be attempted by him, has been done. And being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time, of the military character, and to bid a final adieu to the armies he has so long had the honor to command, he can only again offer, in their behalf, his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of heaven's favors, both here and hereafter, attend those who, under the divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others! With these wishes, and this benediction, the Commander-in-chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn—and the military scene to him will be closed for ever.

NOTE XIV.—PAGE 363.

DR. FRANKLIN'S MOTION FOR PRAYERS

IN THE CONVENTION.

Mr. President:—The small progress we have made after four or five weeks' close attendance and continual reasonings with each other, our different sentiments on almost every question, several of

the last producing as many *Noes* as *Ayes*, is methinks a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We indeed seem to *feel* our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running all about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of government, and examined the different forms of those republics, which, having been originally formed with the seeds of their own dissolution, now no longer exist; and we have viewed modern states all round Europe, but find none of their constitutions suitable to our circumstances.

In this situation of this assembly, groping, as it were, in the dark, to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our understanding? In the beginning of the contest with Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayers in this room for the divine protection? Our prayers, sir, were heard; and they were graciously answered. All of us, who were engaged in the struggle, must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful friend? or do we imagine we no longer need his assistance—I have lived, sir, a long time; and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, *That God governs in the affairs of men!* And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? We have been assured, sir, in the Sacred Writings, that "except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." I firmly believe this: and I also believe, that without his concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel: we shall be divided by our little partial local interests, our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a by-word down to future ages. And what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing government by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.

I therefore beg leave to move, That henceforth prayers, imploring the assistance of heaven, and its blessing on our deliberations, be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business; and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service.

[Note by Dr. Franklin.] "*The convention, except three or four persons, thought prayers unnecessary!*"

NOTE XV.—PAGE 364.

PROCEEDINGS

RELATING TO THE FORMATION AND ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

On the eleventh of September, 1786, commissioners from several states met at Annapolis, in Maryland, "to consider on the best means of remedying the defects of the Federal government."* Mr. Dickinson, of Delaware, was unanimously elected chairman. After a full communication of sentiments, and deliberate consideration, they unanimously agreed that a committee should be appointed to prepare a draft of a report to be made to the State. Accordingly a committee was appointed, who submitted the following on the fourteenth:—

To the honorable the legislatures of Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, the commissioners from the said states respectively, assembled at Annapolis, humbly beg leave to report:—

That, pursuant to their several appointments, they met at Annapolis, in the state of Maryland, on the eleventh day of September instant, and having proceeded to a communication of their powers, they found that the states of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, had, in substance, and nearly in the same terms, authorized their respective commissioners "to meet such commissioners as were or might be appointed by the other states in the Union, at such time and place as should be agreed upon by the said commissioners, to take into consideration the trade and commerce of the United States, to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial intercourse and regulations, might be necessary to their common interest and permanent harmony, and to report to the several states such an act relative to this great object, as, when unanimously ratified by them, would enable the United States, in Congress assembled, effectually to provide for the same."

That the state of Delaware had given similar powers to their commissioners, with this difference only, that the act to be framed in virtue of these powers, is required to be reported "to the United States, in Congress assembled, to be agreed to by them, and confirmed by the legislatures of every state."

That the state of New Jersey had enlarged the object of their appointment, empowering their commissioners "to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial regulations, and *other important matters*, might be necessary to the common interest and permanent harmony of the several states;" and to report such an act on the

* The names of the members of the convention were as follows:—*New York*, Alexander Hamilton, Egbert Benson; *New Jersey*, Abraham Clark, William C. Houston, James Schureman; *Pennsylvania*, Tench Coxe; *Delaware*, George Read, John Dickinson, Richard Basset; *Virginia*, Edmund Randolph, James Madison, Jr., Saint George Tucker.

subject, as, when ratified by them, " would enable the United States, in Congress assembled, effectually to provide for the exigencies of the Union."

That appointments of commissioners have also been made by the states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and North Carolina, none of whom, however, have attended; but that no information has been received by your commissioners of any appointment having been made by the states of Connecticut, Maryland, South Carolina, or Georgia.

That the express terms of the powers to your commissioners supposing a deputation from all the states, and having for object the trade and commerce of the United States, your commissioners did not conceive it advisable to proceed on the business of their mission under the circumstances of so partial and defective a representation.

Deeply impressed, however, with the magnitude and importance of the object confided to them on this occasion, your commissioners cannot forbear to indulge an expression of their earnest and unanimous wish, that speedy measures may be taken to effect a general meeting of the states, in a future convention, for the same and such other purposes as the situation of public affairs may be found to require.

If, in expressing this wish, or in intimating any other sentiment, your commissioners should seem to exceed the strict bounds of their appointment, they entertain a full confidence, that a conduct dictated by an anxiety for the welfare of the United States, will not fail to receive an indulgent construction.

In this persuasion, your commissioners submit an opinion, that the idea of extending the powers of their deputies to other objects than those of commerce, which has been adopted by the state of New Jersey, was an improvement on the original plan, and will deserve to be incorporated into that of a future convention. They are the more naturally led to this conclusion, as, in the course of their reflections on the subject, they have been induced to think that the power of regulating trade is of such comprehensive extent, and will enter so far into the general system of the federal government, that to give it efficacy, and to obviate questions and doubts concerning its precise nature and limits, may require a correspondent adjustment of other parts of the federal system.

That there are important defects in the system of the federal government, is acknowledged by the acts of all those states which have concurred in the present meeting; that the defects, upon a closer examination, may be found greater and more numerous than even these acts imply, is at least so far probable, from the embarrassments which characterize the present state of our national affairs, foreign and domestic, as may reasonably be supposed to merit a deliberate and candid discussion, in some mode which will unite the sentiments and councils of all the states. In the choice of the mode, your commissioners are of opinion that a convention of deputies from the different states, for the special and sole purpose of entering into this investigation, and digesting a plan for supplying such

defects as may be discovered to exist, will be entitled to a preference, from considerations which will occur without being particularized.

Your commissioners decline an enumeration of those national circumstances on which their opinion respecting the propriety of a future convention, with more enlarged powers, is founded; as it would be a useless intrusion of facts and observations, most of which have been frequently the subject of public discussion, and none of which can have escaped the penetration of those to whom they would, in this instance, be addressed. They are, however, of a nature so serious, as, in the view of your commissioners, to render the situation of the United States delicate and critical, calling for an exertion of the united virtue and wisdom of all the members of the confederacy.

Under this impression, your commissioners, with the most respectful deference, beg leave to suggest their unanimous conviction, that it may essentially tend to advance the interests of the Union, if the states, by whom they have been respectively delegated, would themselves concur, and use their endeavors to procure the concurrence of the other states, in the appointment of commissioners, to meet at Philadelphia, on the second Monday in May next, to take into consideration the situation of the United States, to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary, to render the constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union; and to report such an act for that purpose, to the United States, in Congress assembled, as, when agreed to by them, and afterward confirmed by the legislatures of every state, will effectually provide for the same.

Though your commissioners could not, with propriety, address these observations and sentiments to any but the states they have the honor to represent, they have nevertheless concluded, from motives of respect, to transmit copies of this report to the United States, in Congress assembled, and to the executives of the other states.

By order of the commissioners,

Dated at Annapolis, September 14th, 1786

This report was adopted, and transmitted to Congress. On the twenty-first of February, the committee of that body, consisting of Messrs. Dane, Varnum, S. M. Mitchell, Smith, Cadwallader, Irvine, N. Mitchell, Forrest, Grayson, Blount, Bull, and Few, to whom the report of the commissioners was referred, reported thereon, and offered the following resolutions, viz.—

Congress having had under consideration the letter of John Dickinson, Esq., chairman of the commissioners who assembled at Annapolis, during the last year; also the proceedings of the said commissioners, and entirely coinciding with them, as to the inefficiency of the federal government, and the necessity of devising such further provisions as shall render the same adequate to the exigencies of the Union, do strongly recommend to the different legislatures to send forward delegates, to meet the proposed convention, on the second Monday in May next, at the city of Philadelphia.

The delegates for the state of New York thereupon laid before Congress instructions which they had received from their constituents, and in pursuance of the said instructions, moved to postpone the further consideration of the report, in order to take up the following proposition, viz.—

"That it be recommended to the states composing the Union, that a convention of representatives from the said states respectively, be held at ——, on ——, for the purpose of revising the articles of confederation and perpetual union between the United States of America, and reporting to the United States, in Congress assembled, and to the states respectively, such alterations and amendments of the said articles of confederation, as the representatives, met in such convention, shall judge proper and necessary to render them adequate to the preservation and support of the Union."

On taking the question, only three states voted in the affirmative, and the resolution was negatived.

A motion was then made by the delegates for Massachusetts, to postpone the further consideration of the report, in order to take into consideration a motion which they read in their place; this being agreed to, the motion of the delegates for Massachusetts was taken up, and being amended was agreed to, as follows:—

"Whereas, there is provision in the articles of confederation and perpetual union, for making alterations therein, by the assent of a Congress of the United States, and of the legislatures of the several states; and, whereas, experience hath evinced that there are defects in the present confederation, as a mean to remedy which, several of the states, and particularly the state of New York, by express instructions to their delegates in Congress, have suggested a convention for the purposes expressed in the following resolution; and such convention appearing to be the most probable means of establishing, in these states, a firm national government:—

"*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of Congress, it is expedient that, on the second Monday in May next, a convention of delegates who shall have been appointed by the several states, be held at Philadelphia, for the sole and express purpose of revising the articles of confederation, and reporting to Congress, and the several legislatures, such alterations and provisions therein, as shall, when agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by the states, render the federal constitution adequate to the exigencies of the government.

"*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of Congress, it is expedient that, on the second Monday in May next, a convention of delegates who shall have been appointed by the several states, be held at Philadelphia, for the sole and express purpose of revising the articles of confederation, and reporting to Congress and the several legislatures, such alteration and provisions therein, as shall, when agreed to in Congress, and confirmed by the states, render the federal constitution adequate to the exigencies of the government, and the preservation of the Union."

In compliance with the recommendation of Congress, delegates were chosen in the several states, for the purpose of revising the

articles of confederation, who assembled in Philadelphia, on the second Monday in May, 1787. General Washington was chosen president of the convention. On the 17th of September, 1787, the convention having agreed upon the several articles of the federal constitution, it was adopted and signed by all the members present.*

On Friday, the 28th of September, 1787, the Congress having received the report of the convention, with the constitution, recommended for ratification by the several states, and by Congress, adopted the following resolution :—

"*Resolved unanimously*, That the said report, with the resolutions and letters accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several legislatures, in order to be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each state by the people thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the convention, made and provided in that case."

The Constitution having been ratified by the requisite number of States,† and a certification thereof made to Congress, that body, on the thirteenth of September, 1788, passed the following resolutions by the unanimous vote of nine states :—

* The names of the Delegates to the Convention which met at Philadelphia, in May, 1787, to frame a new constitution, were as follows :—

New Hampshire, on the 27th of June, 1787, appointed John Langdon, John Pickering, Nicholas Gilman, and Benjamin West.

Massachusetts, on the 9th of April, 1787, appointed Francis Dana, Elbridge Gerry, Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King, and Caleb Strong.

Connecticut, on the second Thursday of May, 1786, appointed William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman, and Oliver Ellsworth

New York, on the 6th of March, 1787, appointed Robert Yates, John Lansing, jr., and Alexander Hamilton.

New Jersey, on the 23d of November, 1780, appointed David Brearly, William Churchill Houston, William Paterson, and John Neilson; and on the 8th of May, 1787, added William Livingston and Abraham Clark; and on the 5th of June, 1787, added Jonathan Dayton.

Pennsylvania, on the 30th of December, 1786, appointed Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Jared Ingersoll, Thomas Fitzsimons, James Wilson, and Governeur Morris; and on the 28th of March, 1787, added Benjamin Franklin.

Delaware, on the 3d of February, 1787, appointed George Read, Gunning Bedford, jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, and Jacob Broom.

Maryland, on the 26th of May, 1787, appointed James M'Henry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll, John Francis Mercer, and Luther Martin.

Virginia, on the 16th of October, 1786, appointed George Washington, Patrick Henry, Edmund Randolph, John Blair, James Madison, jr., George Mason, and George Wythe. Patrick Henry having declined his appointment as deputy, James M'Clure was nominated to supply his place.

North Carolina, in January, 1787, elected Richard Caswell, Alexander Martin, William Richardson Davie, Richard Dobbs Spaight, and Willie Jones. Richard Caswell having resigned, William Blount was appointed a deputy in his place. Willie Jones having also declined his appointment, was supplied by Hugh Williamson.

South Carolina, on the 8th of March, 1787, appointed John Rutledge, Charles Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Pierce Butler.

Georgia, on the 10th of February, 1787, appointed William Few, Abraham Baldwin, William Pierce, George Walton, William Houston, and Nathaniel Pendleton.

† The following are the dates of the Ratification of the Constitution, by the thirteen Old States :—

Delaware . .	December 7, 1787	South Carolina .	May 23, 1788
Pennsylvania .	December 12, 1787	New Hampshire .	June 21, 1788
New Jersey .	December 18, 1787	Virginia . . .	June 26, 1788
Georgia . .	January 2, 1788	New York . . .	July 26, 1788
Connecticut .	January 9, 1788	North Carolina .	Nov. 21, 1789
Massachusetts .	February 6, 1778	Rhode Island . .	May 29, 1790
Maryland . .	April 28, 1788		

"Whereas, the convention assembled in Philadelphia, pursuant to the resolution of Congress, of the twenty-first of February, 1787, did, on the seventeenth of September, in the same year, report to the United States in Congress assembled, a constitution for the people of the United States; whereupon, Congress, on the twenty-eighth of the same September, did resolve unanimously, that the said report, with the resolutions and letter accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several legislatures, in order to be submitted to a convention of delegates, chosen in each state by the people thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the convention, made and provided in that case; and whereas the constitution so reported by the convention, and by Congress transmitted to the several legislatures, has been ratified in the manner therein declared to be sufficient for the establishment of the same, and such ratifications, duly authenticated, have been received by Congress, and are filed in the office of the secretary, therefore—

"*Resolved*, That the first Wednesday in January next be the day for appointing electors in the several states which before the said day shall have ratified the said constitution; that the first Wednesday in February next be the day for the electors to assemble in their respective states, and vote for a president; and that the first Wednesday in March next be the time, and the present seat of Congress [New York] the place, for commencing proceedings under the said constitution."

While the constitution was under consideration in the various states, its provisions were explained and its utility defended by Madison, Jay, and Hamilton, in a series of Essays under the title of "The Federalist."* It was not an easy matter to frame an instrument perfectly adapted to the wants of thirteen distinct, and wide-spreading republics, whose domestic habits and social institutions were so varied, and, therefere, the constitution met with much opposition. Even Washington and Franklin deemed it defective, yet they overlooked its errors, and sacrificed their own opinions for the general good.† So with Patrick Henry; he violently opposed it in the Virginia Assembly, but yielded quietly to the will of the majority. Partial Republicanism was too little understood by the great mass of the people, for them to clearly perceive how its theory could be realized under a federal form of government; and in their earnest desire to make the system democratic, to its fullest practicable extent, they looked with jealous eye upon everything that tended towards a consolidation of political power. They regarded Paine's jurisprudential postulate—"the best system is a *strong people* and a *weak government*"—as true, and in this opinion they were correct. But

* This title became the cognomen of the party who espoused the constitution, and its opponents were called Anti-Federalists. These have ever since formed the basis of distinction between the two leading political parties in this country.

† Washington said in a letter, "There are some things in the new form, I will readily acknowledge, which never did, and I am persuaded never will, obtain my cordial approbation. But I did then conceive, and do now most firmly believe, that in the aggregate, it is the best constitution that can be obtained at this epoch, and that this, or a dissolution, awaits our choice, and is the only alternative."

they waived partial rights for the promotion of the general good. The constitution was necessarily a compromise, and rights and privileges were surrendered by the different states without any manifest equivalent.

Subjoined is a certified copy of the constitution, with all its amendments, and profusely annotated.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES,

COPIED FROM, AND COMPARED WITH, THE ROLL IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.

Section 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a senate and house of representatives.

Section 2. The house of representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers,* which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand,† but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

* The constitutional provision, that direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, to be ascertained by a census, was not intended to restrict the power of imposing direct taxes to states only.—*Loughborough* vs. *Blake*, 5 *Wheaton*, 319.

† See laws United States, vol. ii, chap. 124; iii., 261; iv., 332. Acts of 17th Congress, 1st session, chap. x.; and of the 22d and 27th Congress.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The house of representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. The senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.*

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

The vice-president of the United States shall be president of the senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president protempore, in the absence of the vice-president, or when he shall exercise the office of president of the United States.

The senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments: When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the president of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside: And no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings,† punish its

* See art. v., clause 1.

† To an action of trespass against the sergeant-at-arms of the house of representatives of the United States for assault and battery and false imprisonment, it is a legal justification and bar to plead that a Congress was held and sitting during the period of the trespasses complained, and that the house of representatives had resolved that the plaintiff had been guilty of a breach of the privileges of the house, and of a high contempt of the dignity

members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secresy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the house of representatives; but the senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the house of representatives and the senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the president of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the president within ten days (Sunday excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the senate

and authority of the same; and had ordered that the speaker should issue his warrant to the sergeant-at-arms, commanding him to take the plaintiff into custody wherever to be found, and to have him before the said house to answer to the said charge; and that the speaker did accordingly issue such a warrant, reciting the said resolution and order, and commanding the sergeant-at-arms to take the plaintiff into custody, &c., and deliver the said warrant to the defendant: by virtue of which warrant the defendant arrested the plaintiff, and conveyed him to the bar of the house, where he was heard in his defence touching the matter of said charge, and the examination being adjourned from day to day, and the house having ordered the plaintiff to be detained in custody, he was accordingly detained by the defendant until he was finally adjudged to be guilty and convicted of the charge aforesaid, and ordered to be forthwith brought to the bar and reprimanded by the speaker, and then discharged from custody, and after being thus reprimanded, was actually discharged from the arrest and custody aforesaid.—*Anderson* vs. *Dunn*, 6 *Wheaton*, 204.

and house of representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the president of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the senate and house of representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes,* duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish an uniform rule of naturalization,† and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies‡ throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish postoffices and postroads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;‖

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

* The power of Congress to *lay and collect taxes, duties,* &c, extends to the District of Columbia, and to the territories of the United States, as well as to the states.—*Loughborough* vs. *Blake*, 5 *Wheaton*, 318. But Congress are not bound to extend a direct tax to the district and territories.—*Id.*, 318.

† Under the constitution of the United States, the power of naturalization is exclusively in Congress.—*Chirac* vs. *Chirac*, 2 *Wheaton*, 259.

See laws United States, vol. ii., chap. 30; ii., 261; iii., 71; iii., 288; iii., 400; iv., 564; vi., 32.

‡ Since the adoption of the constitution of the United States, a state has authority to pass a bankrupt law, provided such law does not impair the obligation of contracts within the meaning of the constitution (art. i., sect. 10), and provided there be no act of Congress in force to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy conflicting with such law.—*Sturgess* vs. *Crowninshield*, 4 *Wheaton*, 122, 192.

See laws United States, vol. ii., chap. 368, sect. 2: iii., 66; iii., 158.

‖ The act of the 3d March, 1819, chap. 76, sect. 5, referring to the law of nations for a definition of the crime of piracy, is a constitutional exercise of the power of Congress to define and punish that crime.—*United States* vs. *Smith*, 5 *Wheaton*, 153, 157.

Congress have power to provide for the punishment of offences committed by persons on board a ship-of-war of the United States, wherever that ship may lie. But Congress have not exercised that power in the case of a ship lying in the waters of the United States, the words within fort, arsenal, dockyard, magazine, or in *any other place or district of country under the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the United States*, in the third section of the act of 1790, chap. 9, not extending to a ship-of-war, but only to objects in their nature, fixed and territorial.—*United States* vs. *Bevans*, 3 *Wheaton*, 890.

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;*

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States,† and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings ;—And

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.‡

Section 9. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by

* Vide amendments, art. ii.

† Congress has authority to impose a direct tax on the District of Columbia, in proportion to the census directed to be taken by the constitution.—*Loughborough* vs. *Blake*, 5 *Wheaton*, 317.

But Congress are not bound to extend a direct tax to the district and territories.—*Id.*, 322.

The power of Congress to exercise exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever within the District of Columbia, includes the power of taxing it.—*Id.*, 324.

‡ Whenever the terms in which a power is granted by the constitution to Congress, or whenever the nature of the power itself requires that it should be exercised exclusively by Congress, the subject is as completely taken away from the state legislatures as if they had been expressly forbidden to act on it.—*Sturgess* vs. *Crowninshield*, 4 *Wheaton*, 193.

Congress has power to incorporate a bank.—*McCulloch* vs. *State of Maryland*; 4 *Wheaton*, 316.

The power of establishing a corporation is not a distinct sovereign power or end of government, but only the means of carrying into effect other powers which are sovereign. Whenever it becomes an appropriate means of exercising any of the powers given by the constitution to the government of the Union, it may be exercised by that government.—*Id.*, 411, 421.

If a certain means to carry into effect any of the powers expressly given by the constitution to the government of the Union, be an appropriate measure, not prohibited by the constitution, the degree of its necessity is a question of legislative discretion, not of judicial cognizance.—*Id.*, 421.

The act of the 19th April, 1816, chap. 44, to incorporate the subscribers to the bank of the United States, is a law made in pursuance of the constitution.—*Id.*, 424.

The bank of the United States has constitutionally a right to establish its branches or offices of discount and deposite within any state.—*Id.*, 424.

There is nothing in the constitution of the United States similar to the articles of confederation, which excludes incidental or implied powers.—*Id.*, 403.

If the *end* be legitimate, and within the scope of the constitution, all the *means* which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, and which are not prohibited, may constitutionally be employed to carry it into effect.—*Id.*, 421.

The powers granted to Congress are not exclusive of similar powers existing in the states, unless where the constitution has expressly in terms given an exclusive power to Congress, or the exercise of a like power is prohibited to the states, or there is a direct repugnancy or incompatibility in the exercise of it by the states.—*Houston* vs. *Moore*, 5 *Wheaton*, 49.

The example of the first class is to be found in the exclusive legislation delegated to Congress over places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be for forts, arsenals, dockyards, &c. Of the second class, the prohibition of a state to coin money or emit bills of credit. Of the third class, the power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and the delegation of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction. —*Id.*, 49.

In all other classes of cases the states retain concurrent authority with Congress.—*Id.*, 48.

But in cases of concurrent authority, where the laws of the states and of the Union are in direct and manifest collision on the same subject, those of the Union being the supreme law of the land, are of paramount authority, and the state so far, and so far only as such incompatibility exists, must necessarily yield.—*Id.*, 49.

The state within which a branch of the United States bank may be established, can not,

the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one state over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one state, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts,* or grant any title of nobility.

without violating the constitution, tax that branch.—*McCulloch* vs. *State of Maryland*, 4 *Wheaton*, 425.

The state governments have no right to tax any of the constitutional means employed by the government of the Union to execute its constitutional powers.—*Id.*, 427.

The states have no power by taxation, or otherwise, to retard, impede, burden, or in any manner control, the operation of the constitutional laws enacted by Congress, to carry into effect the powers vested in the national government.—*Id.*, 436.

This principle does not extend to a tax paid by the real property of the bank of the United States, in common with the other real property in a particular state, nor to a tax imposed on the proprietary which the citizens of that state may hold in common with the other property of the same description throughout the state.—*Id.*, 436.

* Where a law is in its nature a *contract*, where absolute rights have vested under that contract, a repeal of the law can not divest those rights.—*Fletcher* vs. *Peck*, 6 *Cranch*, 88.

A party to a contract can not pronounce its own deed invalid, although that party be a *sovereign state*.—*Id.*, 88.

A *grant* is a *contract executed*.—*Id.*, 89.

A law annulling conveyance is unconstitutional, because it is a law impairing the obligation of contracts within the meaning of the constitution of the United States.—*Id.*

The court will not declare a law to be unconstitutional, unless the opposition between the constitution and the law be clear and plain.—*Id.*, 87.

An act of the legislature of a state, declaring that certain lands which should be purchased for the Indians should not thereafter be subject to any tax, constituted a contract which could not, after the adoption of the constitution of the United States, be rescinded by a subsequent legislative act; such rescinding act being void under the constitution of the United States.—*State of New Jersey* vs. *Wilson*, 7 *Cranch*, 164.

The present constitution of the United States did not commence its operation until the first Wednesday in March, 1789, and the provision in the constitution, that "no state shall make any law impairing the obligation of contracts," does not extend to a state law enacted before that day, and operating upon rights of property vesting before that time.—*Owings* vs. *Speed*, 5 *Wheaton*, 420, 421.

An act of a state legislature, which discharges a debtor from all liability for debts contracted previous to his discharge, on his surrendering his property for the benefit of his creditors, is a law impairing "the obligations of contracts," within the meaning of the constitution of the United States, so far as it attempts to discharge the contract; and it makes no difference in such a case, that the suit was brought in a state court of the state of which both the parties were citizens where the contract was made, and the discharge obtained.

No state shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships-of-war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.

Section 1. The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years,* and, together with the vice-president, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct,† a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[‡The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate. The president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the house of representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for president; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the states, and a majority of

and where they continued to reside until the suit was brought.—*Farmers and Mechanics' Bank* vs. *Smith*, 6 *Wheaton*, 131.

The act of New York, passed on the 3d of April, 1811 (which not only liberates the person of the debtor, but discharges him from all liability for any debt contracted previous to his discharge, on his surrendering his property in the manner it prescribes), so far as it attempts to discharge the contract, is a law impairing the obligation of contracts within the meaning of the constitution of the United States, and is not a good plea in bar of an action brought upon such contract.—*Sturgess* vs. *Crowninshield*, 4 *Wheaton*, 122, 197.

Statutes of limitation and usury laws, unless retroactive in their effect, do not impair the obligation of contracts, and are constitutional.—*Id.*, 206.

A state bankrupt or insolvent law (which not only liberates the person of the debtor, but discharges him from all liability for the debt), so far as it attempts to discharge the contract, is repugnant to the constitution of the United States, and it makes no difference in the application of this principle, whether the law was passed *before* or *after* the debt was contracted.—*McMillan* vs. *McNeill*, 4 *Wheaton*, 209.

The charter granted by the British crown to the trustees of Dartmouth college, in New Hampshire, in the year 1769, is a contract within the meaning of that clause of the constitution of the United States (art. i., sect. 10) which declares, that no state shall make any law impairing the obligations of contracts. The charter was not dissolved by the revolution.—*College* vs. *Woodard*, 4 *Wheaton*, 518.

An act of the state legislature of New Hampshire, altering the charter of Dartmouth college in a material respect, without the consent of the corporation, is an act impairing the obligation of the charter, and is unconstitutional and void.—*Id.*, 518.

* See laws United States, vol. ii., chap. 109, sect. 12.

† See laws United States, vol. ii., chap. 109.

‡ Vide amendments, art. xii.

all the states shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the president, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the vice-president. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the senate shall choose from them by ballot the vice-president.*]

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors,† and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.‡

No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation,§ or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice-president, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the president and vice-president, declaring what officer shall then act as president, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a president shall be elected.‖

The president shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of president of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States."

Section 2. The president shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States;¶ he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for and which shall be es-

* This clause is annulled. See amendments, art. xii.

† See laws United States, vol. ii., chap. 104, sect. 1.

‡ See laws United States, vol. ii., chap. 109, sect. 2.

§ See laws United States, vol. ii., chap. 104, sect. 11.

‖ See laws United States, vol. ii., chap. 109, sect. 9; and vol. iii., chap. 403.

¶ The act of the state of Pennsylvania, of the 28th March, 1814 (providing, sect. 21, that the officers and privates of the militia of that state neglecting or refusing to serve when called into actual service, in pursuance of any order or requisition of the president of the United States, shall be liable to the penalties defined in the act of Congress of 28th February, 1795, chap. 277, or to any penalty which may have been prescribed since the date of that act, or which may hereafter be prescribed by any law of the United States, and also providing for the trial of such delinquents by a state court-martial, and that a list of the delinquents fined by such court should be furnished to the marshal of the United States, &c.; and also to the comptroller of the treasury of the United States, in order that the further proceedings directed to be had thereon by the laws of the United States might be completed), is not repugnant to the constitution and laws of the United States.—*Houston* vs. *Moore*, 5 *Wheaton*, 1, 12.

tablished by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the president alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The president shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The president, vice-president and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish.* The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.†

SECTION 2. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more states;—between a state and citizens of another state;—between citizens of different states,‡—between citizens of the same state claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.§

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.‖

* Congress may constitutionally impose upon the judges of the supreme court of the United States the burden of holding circuit courts.—*Stuart* vs. *Laird*, 1 *Cranch*, 299.

† See laws of the United States, vol. ii., chap. 20.

‡ A citizen of the District of Columbia is not a citizen of a state within the meaning of the constitution of the United States.—*Hepburn et al* vs. *Ellzey*, 2 *Cranch*, 445.

§ The supreme court of the United States has not power to issue a *mandamus* to a *secretary of state* of the United States, it being an exercise of original jurisdiction not warranted by the constitution, notwithstanding the act of Congress.—*Marbury* vs. *Madison*, 1 *Cranch*, 137.

See a restriction of this provision.—Amendments, art. xi.

‖ The appellate jurisdiction of the supreme court of the United States extends to a final judgment or decree in any suit in the highest court of law, or equity of a state, where is drawn in question the validity of a treaty, &c.—*Martin* vs. *Hunter's lessee*, 1 *Wheaton*, 304.

Such judgment, &c., may be re-examined by writ of error, in the same manner as if rendered in a circuit court.—*Id.*

If the cause has been once remanded before, and the state court decline or refuse to carry

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial

into effect the mandate of the supreme court thereon, this court will proceed to a final decision of the same, and award execution thereon.

Quere.—Whether this court has authority to issue a mandamus to the state court to enforce a former judgment?—*Id.*, 362.

If the validity or construction of a treaty of the United States is drawn in question, and the decision is against its validity, or the title specially set up by either party under the treaty, this court has jurisdiction to ascertain that title, and determine its legal validity, and is not confined to the abstract construction of the treaty itself.—*Id.*, 362.

Quere.—Whether the courts of the United States have jurisdiction of offences at common law against the United States?—*United States* vs. *Coolidge*, 1 *Wheaton*, 415.

The courts of the United States have exclusive jurisdiction of all seizures made on land or water for a breach of the laws of the United States, and any intervention of a state authority, which by taking the thing seized out of the hands of the United States' officer, might obstruct the exercise of this jurisdiction, is illegal.—*Slocum* vs. *Mayberry et al*, 2 *Wheaton*, 1, 9.

In such a case the court of the United States have cognizance of the seizure, may enforce a redelivery of the thing by attachment or other summary process.—*Id.*, 9.

The question under such a seizure, whether a forfeiture has been actually incurred, belongs exclusively to the courts of the United States, and it depends upon the final decree of such courts, whether the seizure is to be deemed rightful or tortuous.—*Id.*, 9, 10.

If the seizing officer refuse to institute proceedings to ascertain the forfeiture, the district court may, on application of the aggrieved party, compel the officer to proceed to adjudication, or to abandon the seizure.—*Id.*, 10.

The jurisdiction of the circuit court of the United States extends to a case between citizens of Kentucky, claiming lands exceeding the value of five hundred dollars, under different grants, the one issued by the state of Kentucky, and the other by the state of Virginia, upon warrants issued by Virginia, and locations founded thereon, prior to the separation of Kentucky from Virginia. It is the grant which passes the *legal* title to the land, and if the controversy is founded upon the conflicting grants of different states, the judicial power of the courts of the United States extends to the case, whatever may have been the equitable title of the parties prior to the grant.—*Colson et al* vs. *Lewis*, 2 *Wheaton*, 377.

Under the judiciary of 1789, chap. 20. sect. 25, giving appellate jurisdiction to the supreme court of the United States, from the final judgment or decree of the highest court of law or equity of a state, in certain cases the writ of error may be directed to any court in which the record and judgment on which it is to act may be found; and if the record has been remitted by the highest court, &c., to another court of the state, it may be brought by the writ of error from that court.—*Gelston* vs. *Hoyt*, 3 *Wheaton*, 246, 303.

The remedies in the courts of the United States at common law and in equity are to be, not according to the practice of state courts, but according to the principles of common law and equity as defined in England. This doctrine reconciled with the decisions of the courts of Tennessee, permitting an equitable title to be asserted in an action at law.—*Robinson* vs. *Campbell*, 3 *Wheaton*, 221.

Remedies in respect to real property, are to be pursued according to the *lex loci rei sitae*.—*Id.*, 219.

The courts of the United States have *exclusive* cognizance of questions of forfeiture upon all seizures made under the laws of the United States, and it is not competent for a state court to entertain or decide such question of forfeiture. If a sentence of condemnation be definitively pronounced by the proper court of the United States, it is conclusive that a forfeiture is incurred; if a sentence of acquittal, it is equally conclusive against the forfeiture, and in either case the question can not be again litigated in any common law for ever.—*Gelston* vs. *Hoyt*, 3 *Wheaton*, 246, 311.

Where a seizure is made for a supposed forfeiture under a law of the United States, no action of trespass lies in any common-law tribunal, until a final decree is pronounced upon the proceeding *in rem* to enforce such forfeiture: for it depends upon the final decreee of the court proceeding *in rem*, whether such seizure is to be deemed rightful or tortuous, and the action, if brought before such decree is made, is brought too soon.—*Id.*, 313.

If a suit be brought against the seizing officer for the supposed trespass while the suit for the forfeiture is depending, the fact of such pending may be pleaded in abatement, or as a temporary bar of the action. If after a decree of condemnation, then that fact may be pleaded as a bar: if after an acquittal with a certificate of reasonable cause of seizure, then that may be pleaded as a bar. If after an acquittal without such certificate, then the officer is without any justification for the seizure, and it is definitively settled to be a tortuous act. If to an action of trespass in a state court for a seizure, the seizing officer plead the fact of forfeiture in his defence without averring a *lis pendens*, or a condemnation, or an acquittal, with a certificate of reasonable cause of seizure, the plea is bad: for it attempts to put in issue the question of forfeiture in a state court.—*Id.*, 314.

Supposing that the third article of the constitution of the United States which declares, that "the judicial power shall extend to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction"

shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.*

SECTION 3. Treason against the United States, shall consist only in

vested in the United States exclusive jurisdiction of all such cases, and that a murder committed in the waters of a state where the tide ebbs and flows, is a case of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; yet Congress have not, in the 8th section of the act of 1790, chap. 9, "for the punishment of certain crimes against the United States," so exercised this power, as to confer on the courts of the United States jurisdiction over such murder.—*United States* vs. *Bevans*, 3 *Wheaton*, 336, 387.

Quere.—Whether courts of common law have concurrent jurisdiction with the admiralty over murder committed in bays, &c., which are enclosed parts of the sea?—*Id.*, 387.

The grant to the United States in the constitution of all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, does not extend to a cession of the waters in which those cases may arise, or of general jurisdiction over the same. Congress may pass all laws which are necessary for giving the most complete effect to the exercise of the admiralty and maritime jurisdiction granted to the government of the Union; but the general jurisdiction over the place subject to this grant, adheres to the territory as a portion of territory not yet given away, and the residuary powers of legislation still remain in the state.—*Id.*, 389.

The supreme court of the United States has constitutionally appellate jurisdiction under the judiciary act of 1789, chap. 20, sect. 25, from the final judgment or decree of the highest court of law or equity of a state having jurisdiction of the subject matter of the suit, where is drawn in question the validity of a treaty or statute of, or an authority exercised under, the United States, and the decision is against their validity: or where is drawn in question the validity of a statute of, or an authority exercised under any state, on the ground of their being repugnant to the constitution, treaties, or laws of the United States, and the decision is in favor of such their validity: or of the constitution, or of a treaty, or statute of, or commission held under the United States, and the decision is against the title, right, privilege, or exemption, specially set up or claimed by either party under such clause of the constitution, treaty, statute, or commission.—*Cohens* vs. *Virginia*, 6 *Wheaton*, 264, 375.

It is no objection to the exercise of this appellate jurisdiction, that one of the parties is a state, and the other a citizen of that state.—*Id.*

The circuit courts of the Union have chancery jurisdiction in every state: they have the same chancery powers, and the same rules of decision in equity cases, in all the states.—*United States* vs. *Howland*, 4 *Wheaton*, 108, 115.

Resolutions of the legislature of Virginia of 1810, upon the proposition from Pennsylvania to amend the constitution, so as to provide an impartial tribunal to decide disputes between the state and federal judiciaries.—*Note to Cohens* vs. *Virginia. Notes* 6 *Wheaton*, 358.

Where a cause is brought to this court by writ of error, or appeal from the highest court of law, or equity of a state, under the 25th section of the judiciary act of 1789, chap. 20, upon the ground that the validity of a statute of the United States was drawn in question, and that the decision of the state court was against its validity, &c., or that the validity of the statute of a state was drawn in question as repugnant to the constitution of the United States, and the decision was in favor of its validity, it must appear from the record, that the act of Congress, or the constitutionality of the state law, was drawn in question.—*Miller* vs. *Nicholls*, 4 *Wheaton*, 311, 315.

But it is not required that the record should in terms state a misconstruction of the act of Congress, or that it was drawn into question. It is sufficient to give this court jurisdiction of the cause, that the record should show that an act of Congress was applicable to the case.—*Id.*, 315.

The supreme court of the United States has no jurisdiction under the 25th section of the judiciary act of 1789, chap. 20, unless the judgment or decree of the state court be a final judgment or decree. A judgment reversing that of an inferior court, and awarding a *venire facias de novo*, is not a final judgment.—*Houston* vs. *Moore*, 3 *Wheaton*, 433.

By the compact of 1802, settling the boundary line between Virginia and Tennessee, and the laws made in pursuance thereof, it is declared that all claims and titles to land derived from Virginia, or North Carolina, or Tennessee, which have fallen into the respective states, shall remain as secure to the owners thereof, as if derived from the government within whose boundary they have fallen, and shall not be prejudiced or affected by the establishment of the line. Where the titles of both the plaintiff and defendant in ejectment were derived under grant from Virginia to lands which fell within the limits of Tennessee, it was held that a prior settlement right thereto, which would in *equity* give the party a title, could not be asserted as a sufficient title in an action of ejectment brought in the circuit court of Tennessee.—*Robinson* vs. *Campbell*, 3 *Wheaton*, 212.

Although the state courts of Tennessee have decided that, under their statutes (declaring an elder grant founded on a junior entry to be void), a junior patent, founded on a prior entry, shall prevail *at law* against a senior patent founded on a junior entry, this doctrine has never been extended beyond cases within the express provision of the statute of Tennessee and could not apply to titles deriving all their validity from the laws of Virginia, and confirmed by the compact between the two states.—*Id.*, 212.

* See amendments, art. vi.

levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.*

ARTICLE IV.

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state.† And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.‡

SECTION 2. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION 3. New states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislatures of the states concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guaranty to every state in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature can not be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made

* See laws of the United States, vol. ii., chap. 36.

† A judgment of a state court has the same credit, validity, and effect, in every other court within the United States, which it had in the court where it was rendered; and whatever pleas would be good to a suit thereon in such state, and none others can be pleaded in any other court within the United States.—*Hampton* vs. *McConnell*, 3 *Wheaton*, 234.

The record of a judgment in one state is conclusive evidence in another, although it appears that the suit in which it was rendered, was commenced by an attachment of property the defendant having afterward appeared and taken defence.—*Mayhew* vs. *Thacher*, 6 *Wheaton*, 129.

‡ See laws United States, vol. ii., chap. 38; and vol. iii., chap. 409.

prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the senate.*

ARTICLE VI.

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this constitution, as under the confederation.

This constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land;† and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.‡

The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this constitution;§ but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.

The ratification of the conventions of nine states, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GO. WASHINGTON,
President, and deputy from Virginia.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.
JOHN LANGDON,
NICHOLAS GILMAN.

MASSACHUSETTS.
NATHANIEL GORHAM.
RUFUS KING.

CONNECTICUT.
WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON,
ROGER SHERMAN.

NEW YORK.
ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

NEW JERSEY.
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON,
DAVID BREARLEY,
WILLIAM PATERSON,
JONATHAN DAYTON.

PENNSYLVANIA.
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
THOMAS MIFFLIN,
ROBERT MORRIS,
GEORGE CLYMER,
THOMAS FITZSIMONS,
JARED INGERSOLL,
JAMES WILSON,
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

DELAWARE.
GEORGE READ,
GUNNING BEDFORD, JR.,
JOHN DICKINSON,
RICHARD BASSETT,
JACOB BROOM.

MARYLAND.
JAMES M'HENRY,
DANIEL OF ST. THO. JENIFER,
DANIEL CARROLL.

VIRGINIA.
JOHN BLAIR,
JAMES MADISON, JR.

NORTH CAROLINA.
WILLIAM BLOUNT,
RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT,
HUGH WILLIAMSON.

SOUTH CAROLINA.
JOHN RUTLEDGE,
CHARLES C. PINCKNEY,
CHARLES PINCKNEY,
PIERCE BUTLER.

GEORGIA.
WILLIAM FEW,
ABRAHAM BALDWIN.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

* See ante art. i., sect. 3, clause 1.

† An act of Congress repugnant to the constitution can not become a law.—*Marbury* vs. *Madison*, 1 *Cranch*, 176.

‡ The courts of the United States are bound to take notice of the constitution.—*Marbury* vs. *Madison*, 1 *Cranch*, 178.

A contemporary exposition of the constitution, practised and acquiesced under for a period of years, fixes its construction.—*Stuart* vs. *Laird*, 1 *Cranch*, 299.

The government of the Union, though limited in its powers, is supreme within its sphere of action, and its laws, when made in pursuance of the constitution, form the supreme law of the land.—*McCulloch* vs. *State of Maryland*, 4 *Wheaton*, 405.

§ See laws of the United States, vol. ii., chap. 1.

AMENDMENTS*

TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, RATIFIED ACCORDING TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE FOREGOING CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE THE FIRST. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE THE SECOND. A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE THE THIRD. No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in a time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE THE FOURTH. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE THE FIFTH. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

ARTICLE THE SIXTH. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE THE SEVENTH. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.†

ARTICLE THE EIGHTH. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

* Congress, at its first session, begun and held in the city of New York, on Wednesday, the 4th of March, 1789, proposed to the legislatures of the several states twelve amendments to the constitution, ten of which, only, were adopted.

† The act of assembly of Maryland, of 1793, chap. 30, incorporating the bank of Columbia, and giving to the corporation a summary process by execution in the nature of an attachment against its debtors who have, by an express consent in writing, made the bonds, bills, or notes, by them drawn or endorsed, negotiable at the bank, is not repugnant to the constitution of the United States or of Maryland.—*Bank of Columbia* vs. *Okely*, 4 *Wheaton*, 236, 249.

But the last provision in the act of incorporation, which gives this summary process to the bank, is no part of its corporate franchise and may be repealed or altered at pleasure by the legislative will.—*Id.* 245.

ARTICLE THE NINTH. The enumeration in the constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE THE TENTH. The powers not delegated to the United States, by the constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.*

ARTICLE THE ELEVENTH.† The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another state, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE THE TWELFTH.‡ The electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for president and vice-president, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as president, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as vice-president, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as president, and of all persons voted for as vice-president, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the senate;§—the president of the senate shall, in the presence of the senate and house of representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—the person having the greatest number of votes for president, shall be the president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as president, the house of representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the president. But in choosing the president, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two

* The powers granted to Congress are not exclusive of similar powers existing in the states, unless where the constitution has expressly in terms given an exclusive power to Congress, or the exercise of a like power is prohibited to the states, or there is a direct repugnancy or incompatibility in the exercise of it by the states.—*Houston* vs. *Moore*, 5 *Wheaton*, 1, 12.

The example of the first class is to be found in the exclusive legislation delegated to Congress over places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be for forts, arsenals, dockyards, &c. Of the second class, the prohibition of a state to coin money or emit bills of credit. Of the third class, the power to establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and the delegation of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction.—*Id.*, 49.

In all other classes of cases, the states retain concurrent authority with Congress.—*Id.* 49.

But in cases of concurrent authority, where the laws of the states and the Union are in direct and manifest collision on the same subject, those of the Union being the supreme law of the land are of paramount authority, and the state laws so far, and so far only as such incompatibility exists, must necessarily yield.—*Id.*, 49.

There is nothing in the constitution of the United States similar to the articles of confederation, which excludes incidental or implied powers.—*McCulloch* vs. *State of Maryland*, 4 *Wheaton*, 406.

If the *end* be legitimate, and within the scope of the constitution, all the *means* which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, and which are not prohibited, may constitutionally be employed to carry it into effect.—*Id.*, 421.

The act of Congress of 4th May, 1812, entitled, "An act further to amend the charter of the city of Washington," which provides (sect. 6) that the corporation of the city shall be empowered for certain purposes and under certain restrictions, to authorize the drawing of lotteries, does not extend to authorize the corporation to force the sale of the tickets in such lottery in states where such sale may be prohibited by the state laws.—*Cohens* vs. *Virginia* 6 *Wheaton*, 264, 375.

† This amendment was proposed at the first session of the third Congress. See ante art. iii., sect. 2, clause 1.

‡ Proposed at the first session of the eighth Congress. See ante art. ii., sect. 1, clause 3 Annulled by this amendment.

§ See laws of the United States, vol. ii., chap. 109, sect. 5.

thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the house of representatives shall not choose a president whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the vice-president shall act as president, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the president. The person having the greatest number of votes as vice-president, shall be the vice-president, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the senate shall choose the vice-president; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of president shall be eligible to that of vice-president of the United States.

NOTE.—Another amendment was proposed as article xiii., at the second session of the eleventh Congress, but not having been ratified by a sufficient number of states, has not yet become valid as a part of the constitution of the United States. It is erroneously given as a part of the constitution, in page 74, vol i., laws of the United States.

I have examined and compared the foregoing print of the constitution of the United States, and the amendments thereto, with the rolls in this office, and find it a faithful and literal copy of the said constitution and amendments, in the text and punctuation thereof. It appears that the first ten amendments, which were proposed at the first session of the first Congress of the United States, were finally ratified by the constitutional number of states, on the 15th day of December, 1791; that the eleventh amendment, which was proposed at the first session of the third Congress, was declared, in a message from the president of the United States to both houses of Congress, dated 8th January, 1798, to have been adopted by three fourths, the constitutional number of states; and that the twelfth amendment, which was proposed at the first session of the eighth Congress, was adopted by three fourths, the constitutional number of states, in the year one thousand eight hundred and four, according to a public notice thereof, by the secretary of state, under date the 25th of September, of the same year.

DANIEL BRENT, *Chief Clerk.*

Department of State, Washington, 25th Feb., 1828.

*** For history of the formation of the constitution, the declaration of independence, and the articles of confederation, see vol. ii., end of the messages.

DEPARTURE OF THE FRENCH ARMY FROM AMERICA.

WE omitted to mention in the proper place, the departure of Rochambeau and his troops from America. They remained in Virginia until the summer of 1782, when they joined Washington and his army on the Hudson. Active hostilities having ceased, and Savannah and Charleston having been evacuated by the British, Rochambeau, complying with the instructions of his government, embarked his troops from Boston, early in December, for St. Domingo, under M. de Vandreuil. Himself and many officers and their respective staffs, returned to the Chesapeake, whence they embarked for France. As we have before noticed, the order and discipline of the French army was remarkable, and during their final march, they received congratulatory addresses at almost every place. At Philadelphia, a deputation of Quakers waited upon Rochambeau, and one of them, as orator, said: "General, it is not on account of thy military qualities that we make thee this visit—those we hold in little esteem; but thou art the friend of mankind, and thy army conducts itself with the utmost order and discipline. It is this which induces us to render thee our respects."

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